MILITARY ASPECTS OF ROMAN WALES: BY F. HAVERFIELD

Hugh G. Evelyn-White.

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From the "Transactions" of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1908-9.

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MILITARY ASPECTS OF ROMAN WALES.[1]

By Professor F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., LL.D.

I.

[Prefatory Note.—This article attempts to describe in some detail the Roman military remains in Wales, and to ascertain a part, at least, of their hitherto neglected history. It is based on a study of the inscriptions, and on many visits to Roman sites in Wales and to Welsh museums or private collections of Roman objects. Several of these visits were made in company with Professor Bosanquet, who, from his vantage-ground in Liverpool, has set on foot the methodical exploration of Early Wales. In examining the literature of my subject, and in gaining knowledge of several sites, I have been greatly aided by the co-operation of Miss M. V. Taylor. I have also to thank the Ordnance Survey authorities for letting me see some of their papers at Southampton, and I have received much other help, which is, I hope, duly acknowledged below. The article is printed much as it was read in 1909, but with a few obvious additions.]

The study of Roman Wales, as the phrase implies, has an interest for two classes of persons—those who care about Roman things and those who care about Wales. Unfortunately, each of these two classes is liable to be affected by influences unfavourable to the proper consideration of the subject. The gaze of the Roman historian is concentrated on the lands around the Mediterranean. Wales to him is a far-off fragment of the Empire, small, sterile, mountainous, remote from the main channels of Imperial life, near neighbour to the untravelled western seas. There are other districts on the Atlantic seaboard of the Empire which played little part in the politics, the trade, the intellectual activities of the Roman world; such were the

[1] Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20, Hanover Square, on Thursday, 18 March 1909. Chairman, Principal Sir John Rhŷs, M.A., D.Litt.

lands which we now call Morocco, Portugal, Brittany. But none was so distant, so Atlantic, as Wales. Here, therefore, the Roman historian is inclined to spend little time or trouble. Even if he possesses the necessary local knowledge he has other and more important work. Therefore he omits or he misunderstands or minimizes that which he deems almost negligible.

The Welsh patriot is exposed to a quite different prejudice, which, nevertheless, results in a somewhat similar error. I am not, even by remote descent, a Welshman. But I am not without serious understanding of what Wales means to the Welsh. I can realize, as I believe, the inevitableness and the force and the value of Welsh patriotism. I can appreciate the deep love for the great hills and the shadowy valleys, for the ancient speech and the free traditions which are the splendid heritage of the Welsh people. I can see, too, that this patriotism might well animate and inspire the historian. But I know that it may also mislead him. I will not—like a schoolmaster setting a general paper in a scholarship examination—put the question: Can a good patriot be a good historian? But, as I look back over the attitude of the Welsh in various ages towards the earlier chapters of their national history, I notice prejudices not yet extinct.

Let me turn, for an example, to the Middle Ages, to days when the Roman Empire was still a great name in western Europe, and men pretended that it still survived under almost its old title. Then everyone was ready to trace his origins to the Roman world. The Welsh did the same. But they did it with a difference. The earliest Oxford novelist, Welshman alike (as I imagine) by birth and by sentiment, Geoffrey of Monmouth, derived the first human inhabitants of Britain from that same Trojan stock from which the founders of Rome were fabled to have

sprung. But, with all his talk of Troy Novant, the "new Troy" in the land of the Trinovantes, Geoffrey is careful to add that Britons sacked Rome in the consulship of Porsena and Gabius, that Claudius won the island only by marrying his daughter to the Briton Arviragus, that independent princes ruled Britain during the Empire, and that Arthur routed and killed the Roman consul Lucius Tiberius and invaded and annexed Roman dominions. It is all pure fiction, very charming fiction. But it is significant. The Welsh romancer would not admit that the Roman Empire embraced Wales, or even Britain, permanently and continuously. That feeling has not passed away. Rather, I suspect, it has grown as the sense of Welsh nationality, like national feeling all over the globe, has deepened during the last forty or fifty years. Even responsible writers have come to think either that Rome never really conquered Wales, or that its conquest was as the wind which moves the grass and passes by.

Can we adjust the balance disturbed by the indifference of the scholar and the indignation of the patriot? Can we determine, with any approach to precision, the extent of Roman rule in Wales and the character of the Roman occupation, the military organization which ensured it, and the results which it left on the civilization of the country? Such matters affect not only the historian and the Welshman, but all of us. They raise problems which matter to-day—the military system of a conquering Empire, the assimilating effects of a higher culture, the vitality of national sentiment, the meaning and conditions of denationalization. I must begin by stating openly that we possess at present only a part of the evidence needed to answer these problems as they arise in Wales. The early antiquities of the country are many. In one way or another they probably contain

raw material enough to form the basis of many valuable inductions. But they have never been properly examined, classified, criticized.

One part of them has, indeed, received scientific attention. The inscriptions in Latin or Ogam of the latest Roman period and of the next succeeding centuries have been admirably handled, their readings fixed, and the proper names which form so large a part of them studied in their philological relations. Here Professor Sir John Rhŷs, *quem honoris causa nomino*, has done the service of yeoman and general combined. To his learning and genius we owe the solution of many problems; to him we look for the solution of many more. The subject is admittedly difficult. In it, more than in any other branch of current research, the path of the explorer must perforce be strewn with discarded conjectures. But the gateways to knowledge are everywhere built with working hypotheses. We may assert without fear of reasonable contradiction that all is being done which philology can do for the illustration of Welsh antiquities and ultimately of Welsh history.

But philology does not take us very far, and when we pass beyond its achievements there remains a sorrier story. If the post-Roman inscriptions have received, or are receiving, adequate treatment, the Roman inscriptions proper have been neglected. Neither Hübner, who edited them in the seventh volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* thirty-five years ago, nor Westwood, who figured them somewhat later in his *Lapidarium Walliæ*,[2] nor any

[2] Westwood had many merits. But he was neither a Roman historian nor a Roman epigraphist; his generally excellent illustrations are not always accurate when they pourtray Roman inscriptions, and the expositions in his text and the references to previous writers are often unsatisfactory.

subsequent writer, so far as I know, has tried to sum the historical significance of these remains. And when we turn from words to things, from the texts of inscriptions to the uncounted antiquities scattered thick over Wales—camps, ruins, roads, burials, coins, pots-herds—the lack of research is very plain. Hardly any of these have been critically studied; many have barely been noted or brought to light. Only three Roman sites of any extent have as yet been scientifically excavated in Wales or Monmouthshire. The Romano-British town of Caerwent has been patiently and systematically trenched by Dr. Ashby and his colleagues, year by year, since 1899. The Roman fort at Gellygaer, twelve or thirteen miles north of Cardiff, was laid open by Mr. Ward, Mr. C. H. James, and other Cardiff Naturalists, in 1900-1, and the work was resumed in 1909 with good results. In 1909, too, Professor Bosanquet and the Liverpool Committee for the Exploration of Wales began to uncover in systematic and scientific fashion the Roman fort at Caersws near Moat Lane. But these undertakings stand alone. Beside them we can only put some smaller sites which have been examined as occasion served, principally in South Wales.

This lack of excavation is fatal. To-day "the spade is mightier than the pen"; the shovel and pick are the revealers of secrets. It is no longer any use for antiquaries to stand on the tops of mounds and declare one bank Roman and another not, without disturbing one sod or uprooting one fern; still less use is it to print their airy imaginings on more or less durable paper. Mommsen, talking of some local archæologists, once said to me: "Oh yes, we are very grateful to these gentlemen for what they send us, but we do not tell them all we think of them." I need not do more than imitate him. But this I may say, that he who drops speculation and takes up

the spade will have his reward. "Scratch the earth and you will find the Empire" is as true in Wales as in any other land once ruled by Rome.

Hitherto Welshmen have not scratched. Worse still, they have not even collected the bits which chance has scratched out for them. Two summers ago I visited Carnarvon, and tried to get some glimpse of the Roman remains found on that historic site. I met with real kindness and ready welcome. But the bits which I wished to see, the carved stones, coins, brooches, potsherds, were scattered up and down the town in private houses, a little here and a little there, difficult to hear of, even more difficult to reach. I saw much, I learnt facts about Roman Carnarvon which I could not have found in print. But I did this only through the unselfish exertions of men who must have been uncommonly glad to see me go away, and I doubt not that I missed much. Such scattered items are not to be hunted out in one or two afternoons. We need some citizen of Carnarvon or some neighbouring scholar from Bangor to examine all these little finds at his leisure, and to compile a list of them that will be far completer, and a knowledge of Roman Carnarvon that will be far more soundly based, than I could attain to in one brief visit.

Perhaps the things seem trifles—broken brick-bats, smashed plates, old boots, discarded hat-pins. There are no trifles in archæology. There are no trifles, for that matter, in any science. The lecture once given to the British Association on the infinite importance of the infinitesimal might be repeated, *mutatis mutandis*, to every Archæological Society in the world. To-day, indeed, such teaching is especially needed. The ingenious labours of French, German, Swedish, and even British archæologists is now beginning to tell us how to date various types of

fibulæ and of pottery. The dumb things are becoming as eloquent as the most legible coin or the most exact inscription. At present the process is only in its infancy and the mistakes of infancy are all around it. A great deal that is in print and is stated as if authoritative on the chronology of these objects is either uncertain and unproven or demonstrably wrong. But it is already clear that these "trifles" have their value.[3] It is, therefore, most necessary to record them minutely and to note the circumstances under which they have been found and the surroundings with which they were in association. Sometimes we shall have to confess that we do not know enough, as yet, to fix their dates and historical importance; sometimes we shall admit that they are such as will probably never tell us very much. But there is, even to-day, a residuum, probably a large residuum, which is full of instruction. It would, for instance, be well worth while if Welsh archæologists would combine to compile a complete set of uniform drawings or photographs of all the pieces of decorated Samian and all the *fibulæ* found in Wales, outside of Caerleon and Caerwent. Such a set would include everything that could be heard of as stored away in private collections or in private houses, as well as all specimens which exist in museums. When completed it could be kept at some accessible centre, perhaps in a Welsh National Library or Museum, or it could be multiplied by a mechanical process and copies distributed to numerous centres. It would, I am sure, aid the student very greatly. Not only would it encourage a belief in the intrinsic value of trifles: it would immensely facilitate the comparison and interpretation of fresh finds. A similar list, without drawings or illustrations, should be made of

[3] I have ventured to put together in an appendix a few notes on the chronology of Samian.

all the coins found in Wales. Then the historian could begin his task of describing Roman Wales with a light heart. To-day my sketch must not only be, as a whole, impressionist; it must be in many details incomplete and in many details conjectural.

II.

In the present article I propose to limit myself to the military aspects of Roman Wales, and to leave till a future occasion the civil life and culture of Caerwent and other sites which were occupied by men of peace. The distinction between the two spheres is easy. The Roman was accustomed even from the early days of the Republic to draw a line—a geographical as well as legal line—between *domi* and *militiae*. Under the Empire the legal distinction did not survive in its old form. But the actual areas of peace and war, of civil life and military occupation, of towns and fortresses, are sharply separated. Hardly any instances occur in the Roman Empire of inhabited sites which were at once town and fortress within one ring-wall. There are not very many where town and fortress are even closely adjacent as they seem to have been at York, where the Cathedral marks the position of the fortress, the railway station that of the *colonia* and the Ouse flows between. It is not only pardonable but proper to treat the two aspects of Roman provincial life, civil and military, each by itself.

I begin with the story of the conquest, as preserved to us in disjointed notices scattered up and down ancient literature and in disjointed archæological evidence. We can lay down its general course with some confidence. The Roman army of conquest first landed in our island, as everyone knows, in A.D. 43, and quickly overran southern and midland Britain. These regions, indeed, are such as

offer no real obstacles to any invader. They are lowlands, flat and open. Their hills are seldom high and all slope gently down to the south-east. Their chief rivers flow out in the same direction. Despite the emphasis which Guest and Green and their imitators have laid on the strategic value of the forests and marshes in the midlands, this region contains no serious physical features. Neither the forests, which may or may not have been numerous, nor the marshes, which are few and confined to the east of the island, could stop or delay or even divert the march of armies. Moreover, by A.D. 43, the south-eastern part of the island was already permeated by Roman civilization which had filtered in from Gaul and Germany and prepared the way for Roman annexation, while the midlands seem to have been very thinly inhabited. Neither district, certainly, made serious resistance. In three or four years the Romans had reached the basins of the Exe, the Severn, the Trent, and the Humber. On the Welsh border they had perhaps established a fortress at Wroxeter, on the Severn near Shrewsbury, where they seem to have quartered the Fourteenth Legion for a brief period.

Here, perforce, they paused. Their path was barred by hills and bogs and by mountaineers more fierce and untamable than even these natural obstacles. Instead of three or four, it took thirty or forty years to subdue the British uplands. The attack was opened (as it seems) by Ostorius Scapula, who came out in 47; the defence in Wales—with which alone we are here concerned—was led by the British prince whom we conventionally call Caractacus, but whose real name was Caratācus, the first recorded and most famous ofmany called by a name which has grown into the modern English Cradock. We need not try to discern the character of the Celtic hero. Of him, as of other and greater national leaders who fought with Rome—

the Pannonian Bato, the African Tacfarinas, the German Arminius, the Dacian Decebalus—we know little more than the fact that they fought and fought well. It is the kindness of history that for all these men the good they did lives after them and the evil is interred with their bones. Nor need we stay to search for the scenes where Caratācus faced his foes. Much ink, and even some ingenuity, have been wasted in that enquiry. Our one authority, Tacitus, did not tell us, and we must practice the irritating art of confessing our ignorance. It is no use to twist and torture his phrases. Likely enough, he had no proper map of Britain and no clear ideas on British topography. Certainly he attached no value to the matter. He was a literary man, and had the literary dislike of technical detail. His aim was to present the general effect of each situation and not to spoil his readers' appreciation of his sketch by insistence on minutiae, which tax the intellect without illuminating the picture. Those general effects he has given admirably. The character of warfare amid difficult uplands, the dangers and labours of the Romans, the excitement of each combat, are vividly pourtrayed in their emotional and aesthetic, if not in their technical and military aspects. More must not be asked of an ancient historian who took history to be a picture of life and not a scientific record. We may, if we like, call Tacitus "the most unmilitary of historians". But it is well to remember that he is unmilitary not from carelessness but from choice.

Still, even he has given us clues. We can see that, either just before or just after Ostorius took over the command, the Romans advanced from the midland plain up the broad valley which divides Derbyshire from the Welsh hills and occupied the military base at Chester, which the Twentieth Legion was to hold for three

centuries. Ostorius pushed on quickly to the district of the Deceangi or Deceangli, later styled Tegeingl and now Flintshire, and no doubt developed its valuable mines of lead. Then he invaded South Wales, or at least the region now styled Monmouthshire—which even in that age went rather with the land west of it than with the east—and attacked the Silures. To break their fierce resistance, says Tacitus, a legionary fortress was established among them, and we may suppose—though the matter is not quite clear—that the Legio II Augusta now occupied the fortress of which ruins are still seen at Caerleon-on-Usk, Isca Silurum.[4] At the same time smaller "auxiliary" *castella* were, according to the Roman system, planted at various points in Silurian territory. The attack on Wales, both north and south, had well begun before A.D. 50.

[4] Tacitus, *Annals* xiii, 32. *Silurum gens non atrocitate, non clementia, mutabatur, quin bellum exerceret castrisque legionum premenda foret. Id quo promptius veniret, colonia Camulodunum valida veteranorum manu deducitur.* This is taken (as for example by Pelham in his note to the second edition of Furneaux's *Commentary on the Annals* (Oxford 1907) p. 101) to mean that the legion had previously been at Colchester and was now transferred to Caerleon, its place on the east coast being taken by a town settlement of veterans. There are two difficulties here in the way. First, as to Colchester. If a legionary fortress existed there up to A.D. 50, the place would hardly have been without fortifications in A.D. 60 (Tac. *Ann.*, xiv, 31). Secondly, as to Caerleon. There are here plentiful remains of a legionary fortress and its garrison, the Legio II Augusta. But all these remains, so far as we can date them, and above all the coins, date from after A.D. 70, and compel us to wonder whether after Ostorius's death the fortress at Isca was actually maintained. It is also possible that from 50-70 the legion held some other post than Isca —possibly Usk, where early Roman remains have occurred. Both Caerwent and Gloucester have been also suggested as likely sites for an early fortress of the Second Legion, but in neither case is the evidence, as at present known, sufficient. The difficulty of deciding is accentuated by our total ignorance of where the legion was up to 50.

We might expect to hear of speedy further advance. What we do hear is that Caratācus was defeated and captured, that the Silurian resistance flagged no whit, and Ostorius died very shortly of fatigue and chagrin. There followed a long period—full twenty years—of inaction (A.D. 50-70), interrupted only by one brief tragedy. Our ancient authorities do not explicitly state the reasons for this pause. But they are easy to guess. The administration of Claudius's later years (he died in 54) was in many ways feebler than it had been in 43 or 47. The administration of Nero, even during the notorious Quinquennium, was in many ways remiss, and the scanty energies of the Government must have been occupied by the eastern difficulties on the Euphrates frontier. In Britain itself the area already annexed, that which formed the Province, was probably still too unruly to admit of safe advance, and the "protectorates" which the Romans had left to native princes and hoped to annex quietly and gradually, were equally intractable. When Suetonius Paulinus in 60 added to the Province the hitherto protected area of the Iceni, the natives resisted. A raid which Suetonius carried out on Anglesey removed him and many of his troops from the Province, and gave them an opening. Not the Iceni only, under their queen Boudicca, but most of eastern and midland Britain, rose in wild revolt. It was, of course, a vain effort. But the defeat and death of the British warrior queen was followed by no further Roman action. We may well think that the Government read aright the lesson of the rising and preferred to consolidate. In A.D. 70 the Roman frontier in Britain must have been much where Ostorius left it, on the edge of the hills.

The next decade (A.D. 70-90) saw the real conquest of Wales. Vespasian, who succeeded in 69, is not generally

called a "Mehrer des Reichs". He is usually described as —what he certainly was—a ruler of coarse, practical, efficient common sense. Such men rarely strike out new lines. But Vespasian added much to the Empire in many lands. In Britain he added Wales and part of north England. Between 71 and 74 Petilius Cerialis conquered the north; between 74 and 78 Iulius Frontinus conquered the Silures. When Agricola came out in 78, he found South Wales quiet; the long struggle of the Silures was over. In North Wales the Ordovices still shewed fight, but forts were already planted in their territory, and a few weeks sufficed to destroy the whole tribe and the last liberties of Wales.

The long contest had ended suddenly. Yet perhaps its end was not more sudden than the end of Celtic resistance to Cæsar in Gaul, or of Dervish resistance to the English in the Sudan. The continuous and coherent strategy, the organised resources, the disciplined battalions of civilized Empires are often able to inflict such sudden-seeming disaster on savage enemies, and where—as with savages—the army practically is the tribe, a mere numerical loss destroys both army and tribe together. We need not think that the phrase of Tacitus *caesa prope universa gente* means any systematic annihilation. The result was complete enough without that. From the autumn of 78 onwards we hear no more of Welshmen armed against Rome. The tribes of north Britain rose, not once only, but once every twenty years, till near the end of the second century. The tribes of Wales did not move. Forty or fifty years later Roman authority was so strong that garrisons could be reduced and troops could be withdrawn from some of the fortified posts which guarded the country.

III.

Such was the conquest. I pass on to the military system which ensured its success and safeguarded its results. It was the ordinary system of the Roman army, a system differing in important points from anything in the modern world. In examining it we must expect to meet that well-marked division of details into rigidly distinct classes, which is common to so much of ancient life, and gives that life so much the semblance of a number of sharply-defined grooves. We shall have (that is) to deal with a limited number of types of regiments, of forts and of fortifications, which fall into clearly distinguishable categories, and do not generally overlap or merge into one another.

The army of the Roman Empire, taken as a whole, contained perhaps 400,000 men—mostly infantry, and all long service soldiers. There were two main classes of troops, the legions and the so-called *auxilia*. The legion was a brigade of five or six thousand infantry, recruited from the more peculiarly Roman or Romanised, the more intelligent and steadfast and trustworthy, populations of the Empire. The *auxilia* were units of 500 or 1,000 men, horse or foot, levied in general from the less civilized, the more warlike—and sometimes the less loyal—tribes of unquiet regions within the Empire, and only officered by Romans; they were the second, the less favoured, class of troops. The regiment of auxiliary infantry formed a cohort, that of cavalry an *ala*. Each of these might contain 500 men (*cohors quingenaria*, *ala quingenaria*) or 1,000 men (*cohors miliaria*, *ala miliaria*), and the system was further complicated by an arrangement that a cohort might and often did contain a large proportion (something like a fourth) of mounted men, *cohors equitata*, and an *ala* might contain, though probably it did not so often actually contain, a

similar proportion of footmen, *ala peditata*. This arrangement appears to occur in hardly any other army besides the Roman, but it is intelligible enough in a frontier force.

Both legions and auxilia had one notable characteristic. They were not primarily intended, like modern armies, for service in the field, nor were they housed in modern fashion in barracks whence they could be drawn at the outburst of a war. They were garrison troops, defending definite forts and fortresses. These forts and fortresses were not—as we might have expected—of all sorts and sizes suitable to place and time. Like the troops, they too fall into definite classes, and indeed into two classes matching the two classes of troops. One class was of fairly large fortresses, fifty or sixty acres in area, each holding one legion and occasionally some "auxiliaries", and known as *castra stativa* or *hiberna* or the like name.[5] The other was of small forts, *castella*, each of which held (with some exceptions) one auxiliary regiment and which varied in size from two to eight acres, according as its garrison consisted of 500 infantry—the smallest unit—or 1,000 infantry or 500 horse or—the unit needing largest space—1,000 horse.

The strategic relation between fortresses and forts was simple. The fortress, with its legion, occupied a central position near the frontier or the unquiet district. The forts were dotted along the actual border or in the midst of troublesome hills or along important and insecure roads. Both fortresses and forts were confined to areas actually requiring defence or coercion. In the more peaceful regions, those remote from frontier or hills, few troops

[5] Till A.D. 88, or thereabouts, some legionary fortresses contained two legions together. But this hardly affects us in the present article.

were ever quartered. Many provinces or parts of provinces lay therefore wholly outside the military area, and others had comparatively small garrisons, comprising only a few regiments of *auxilia*. Where powerful garrisons were needed legions and auxilia were both used, and it is often said that the numbers of legionaries and auxiliaries were so arranged as to be about equal. This, however, is a matter of considerable doubt. It may have been the theory of the earlier Empire, but it probably soon ceased to be its practice. Indeed, the simplicity of the system did not last very long. In the second century new types of auxiliaries were invented. In the fourth century it became necessary to provide a regular field army, which hitherto had been provided by the cumbrous device of depleting the legionary and other fortified posts and combining the troops thus economised from the garrisons. All through, there was a tendency to supplement the auxiliary *castella* by blockhouses and towers ranging in size from two to three acres down to a few square yards. But the broad features which I have described were maintained in their essentials until after the middle of the third century of our era. They are the features which we shall meet in Wales.

Fortresses and forts were alike based on the same original plan, though in working that out they developed inevitable and indeed fundamental variations. They were so far identical that they all were rectangular (square or oblong) in outline, with rounded corners and straight ramparts, generally unbroken by projecting bastions or by redouts and utterly unlike the fortifications of Vauban or Coehorn or Montalembert. They all had four gates, placed, if not in the middle of the four sides, at least symmetrically. From the four gates streets led directly to the so-called Praetorium—more correctly styled Principia,

—or Headquarters; beside each Headquarters stood the commandant's lodging, the storehouses and the like, while each end of the fortified space was occupied by barracks. Such was the general scheme. But there were necessarily great differences between the little fort meant for five

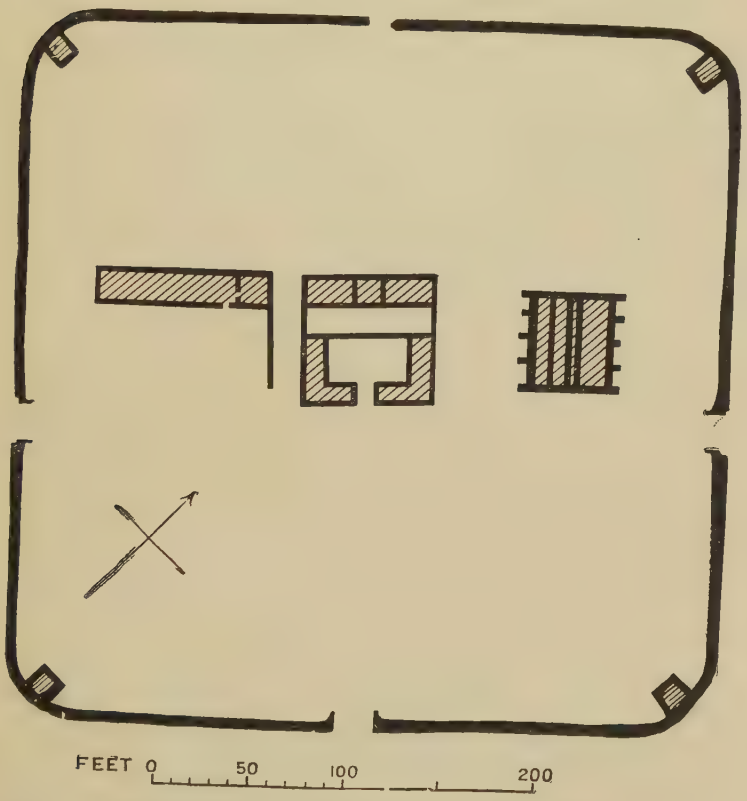


Fig. 1. ROMAN FORT AT HARDKNOTT, CUMBERLAND (p. 18).

hundred men and the large fortress capable of holding five or six thousand men or more. All were, however, alike in this, that they were purely military places. The women folk, the traders, the time-expired soldiers who

wished to live near their old station and comrades, dwelt without the ramparts in *canabae*, literally "booths", and there too were temples and shops and market, and the military bath-house found regularly outside almost every fort, which is often mistaken for a "villa".

Four plans will illustrate the general character of the internal buildings and arrangements of Roman *castella* such as we meet in Wales. One (fig. 1) shews the fort on Hardknott Fell, placed beside a Roman road which crossed from Ambleside fort over the Wrynose pass to Ravenglass fort.[6] It may be as old as Agricola; certainly it exhibits what seems to be an early type in some respects. Its arrangement is simple. Round it runs a rampart of stone, with four gates. In the middle were the Principia (Praetorium), to which we shall meet a close parallel at Gellygaer below. The structure consisted of two open courts,[7] divided (as it seems) by a low wall or arcade, which perhaps marked off men from officers in public ceremonies; round the outer court was a cloister; the inner court was faced by a row of three (more often five) chambers, of which the central room served as shrine for the regimental worship and (sometimes with the aid of a cellar) as treasury for the regimental chest, while the rooms on each side were probably offices. To the east of the Principia was a buttressed granary with internal sleeper walls, or other supports, for a raised floor; to the west was probably the commandant's house, here ill preserved. The rest of the buildings, barracks, and the like, were probably constructed less substantially, and may

[6] Excavated in 1892, *Cumb. and Westm. Arch. Trans.*, xii, 375.

[7] Some writers think that the inner court was not a court, but a roofed hall. As yet, however, no case has been discovered in which it is certain that the space was roofed, and several in which it probably was not roofed (fig. 3).

Fig. 2. ROMAN FORT AT HOUSESTEADS ON HADRIAN'S WALL (p. 20).

have been mere wooden huts; in any case, they have wholly vanished. Outside the fort, and beyond the limits of the plan, were a stone-built bath house and one or two other structures.

On fig. 2, from Housesteads excavated by Prof. Bosanquet in 1898, we have a probably later and certainly more elaborate fort-plan, with many buildings all in stone. The Principia are in the centre (block x); the granaries near it (VIII); quarters for the officers, and conceivably also an armoury, may be found in blocks IX, XI, XII. The rest of the fort is occupied mostly with barracks (I-VI at the west end, XIII-XVIII at the east end), but IV, XV, and XVI may have been stabling or store-rooms. The Principia (fig. 3) shew the same general arrangement as Hardknott, but the two courts are here divided by a roof passage with a door at each end, and we can trace alterations, such as building up the cloister of the outer court, which are natural in a place occupied in force and for many decades. The "suburbs" of Housesteads were numerous and important, and included much more than a bath-house.

Finally, fig. 4 shews a bath-house, with its furnaces, hot rooms, hypocausts, cold bath, and other appurtenances. Some such building stood outside each *castellum*, and its occurrence not infrequently helps us to fix the site of a fort. It was, of necessity, constructed of stone or brick, and its remains are sometimes easier recognised than earthen ramparts or wooden fort-buildings. Its position without the ramparts may be due in part to the danger of fire.

IV.

Apply now this system to Britain, and in particular to Wales, during the first three centuries of our era. In

Britain there were stationed, in general, three legions,[8] some fifteen thousand heavy infantry, and perhaps rather more auxiliaries, horse and foot. These forces garrisoned

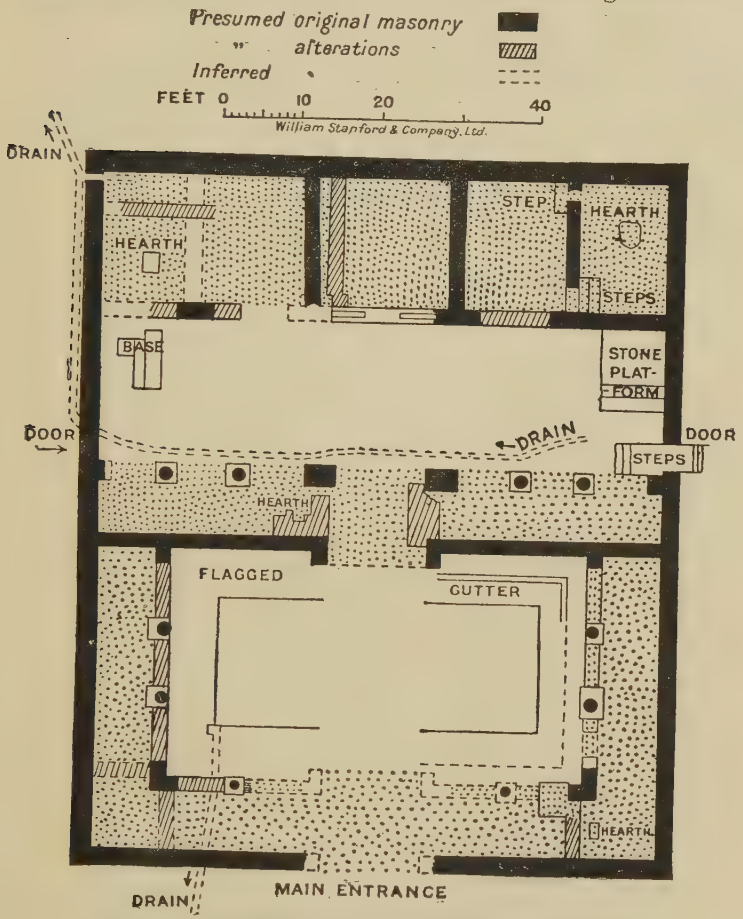
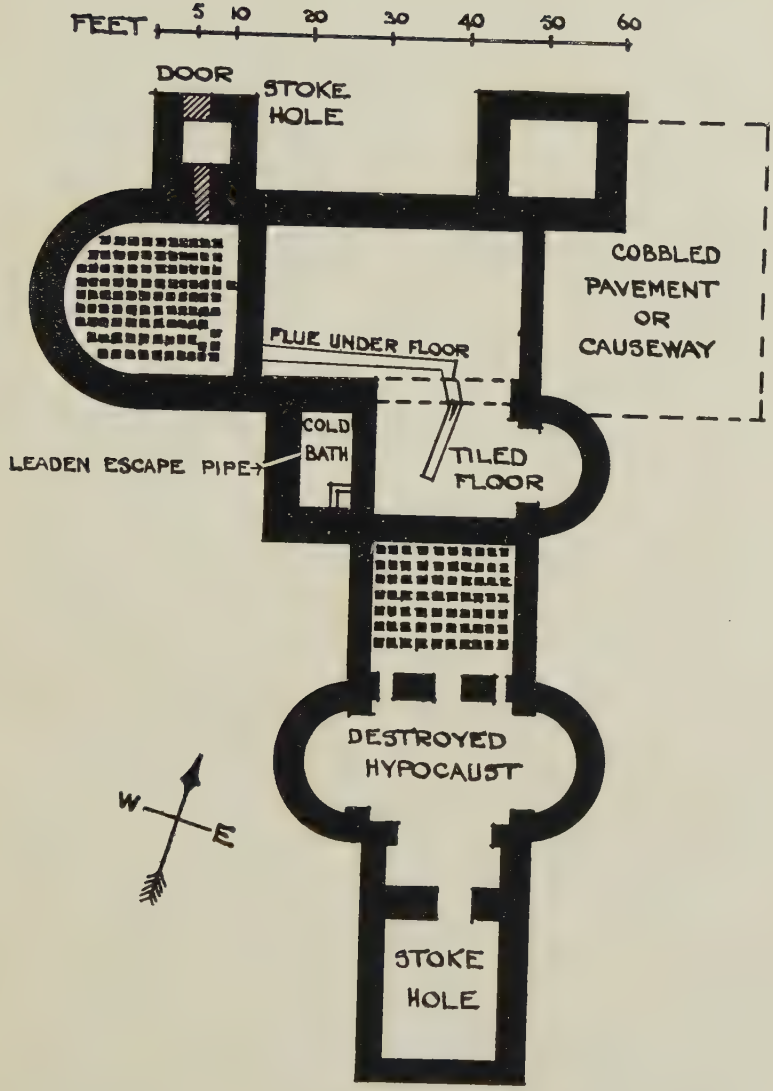


Fig. 3. HOUSESTEADS, PRINCIPIA (p. 20).
(The dotted portions indicate roofs.)

[8] Legio II Augusta, VI Victrix, XX Valeria Victrix.—Till about 115-120 there was IX Hispana, but it was then destroyed and its place taken by VI Victrix. From 43-84 there was also a fourth legion, namely, from 43-67 XIV gemina Martia Victrix and from 71-84 II adiutrix.

three legionary fortresses at York (Eburacum), at Chester (Deva), and at Caerleon (Isca Silurum)—the two latter, be it noted, on the Welsh border. They garrisoned also a number—large, but unfortunately quite uncertain—of *castella* scattered throughout Wales and the north British uplands, principally in Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the regions further north. We know fairly well the sites of the northern forts. Some formed the cordon along the frontier barriers of Hadrian or of Pius. Others stood at intervals of eight or ten or fifteen miles along the roads which led from York and Chester to these barriers. Others held important points in difficult districts, the centre of the Peak in Derbyshire, or the heart of Swaledale, in north Yorkshire, or the upper end of Windermere amidst the Lake hills. Can we trace any similar system of Roman forts in the Welsh valleys? Welsh archæologists have, I think, hardly recognised the probability that any such system existed, and they have naturally paid little heed to the evidence which would prove it. Foreign scholars have followed them, and on some continental maps of Roman Britain Wales, or at least the central region of Wales, is shewn as a blank, outside the Roman Empire. There is, in reality, much evidence to the contrary. I will here briefly set it forth, distributing it in more or less geographical order from north to south.

The evidence which justifies us in interpreting remains as those of permanent Roman forts or fortressess of the types just described, is in the main of two kinds. First, inscriptions. Tiles stamped with name and number of a legion or auxiliary regiment, "centurial stones" recording briefly the work of such and such a century of soldiers, monuments erected by or to military men can, as a rule, be taken to prove definite military occupation or the existence of a fort. It does not, of course, always follow—as



To face p. 22.

Fig. 4. MILITARY BATH HOUSE AT INCHTUTHILL, PERTHSHIRE: brick and stone built, dating probably from A.D. 81-83.

(After plan by Mr. Thos. Ross).

(See p. 20).

I shall point out further on—that those who made and stamped the tiles in the legionary brickyards, or who built the walls containing the centurial stones, were the permanent garrison of the fort. But it is enough for our purposes to know, when we find such tiles and stones, that we are in the presence of military structures built for a military purpose. Secondly, the actual remains, which agree in character with the sketch of the Roman fort given above. Of these remains, our knowledge varies very much. One or two sites have been systematically uncovered and shewn to contain the structures proper to a Roman fort. Others, though almost untouched, have yielded to chance excavation some characteristic feature—granary, bathhouse or the like. Elsewhere our proofs are the peculiar grass-grown mounds which by their position, extent and general character, declare themselves to be in all probability to Roman forts. For most sites we shall find that we can quote both kinds of evidence, and the list which follows is I think fairly well attested. But for convenience, I have introduced into it a few doubtful instances, with a query attached to the heading. The order which I follow is that of geography from north to south, and I may point out, before commencing the list, that we can learn much from the geographical characteristics of Wales. They help us both to determine the position and understand the importance of the Roman forts in the country.

The geography of Wales somewhat resembles that of the peninsula of Greece. In both lands we find the same two features—on the one hand the mountains, on the other a number of small and isolated fragments of lowland, set beside the sea or along deep valleys. Till the other day, till the great outburst of modern mining industry, it was these lowland fragments which formed the more habitable and inhabited portions of Wales, and

they, with the passes that connect them, form the strategic points which every soldier in Wales, ancient, mediæval, or modern, must perforce consider. The Roman forts of which we have present knowledge shew a full recognition of these geographical features.

(i) Hope (Estyn).

In the north-eastern corner of Wales, where the hills begin to rise from the Cheshire plain, we have evidence of a Roman fort situated somewhere in the large parish of Hope—or, as it is called in Welsh, Estyn—eight or ten miles south-west of Chester. Here, as Camden relates, about the year 1585, a gardener digging deeper than his wont came upon a hypocaust with brick *pilæ* supporting a floor of *opus signinum*, flue tiles, and other appropriate fittings, and the bricks and tiles bore the stamp of LEGIO XX.[9] These stamps imply a Roman fort, and the question arises where this fort stood. Camden does not mention the exact site of the find known to him, and Gough, at the end of the eighteenth century, could do nothing better than identify Camden's remains with Caergwrle, where the Norman castle seemed to him to suggest Roman work. But the castle does not contain Roman masonry, nor are any other Roman remains recorded as really found at Caergwrle.[10]

On the other hand discoveries made about 1700, 1828 and 1870, prove the existence of Roman hypocausts at

[9] Camden *Britannia*, ed. 1586, p. 394. By his words "LEGIO XX tegulis impressa", he is doubtless giving the sense, not the exact letters, of the stamp. Hübner slightly misquotes him in CIL, vii.

[10] Roman masonry is here asserted, e.g., *Arch. Camb.*, 1874, p. 355, and more correctly denied in *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.*, xxxiv, 107, where, however, the writers, having given up the Roman masonry, inconsistently adhere to the Roman character of the spot. A "Roman road", which was once shewn me near Hope Church, proved on examination to be very much later in date.

Ffrith, a little further within the hills, near the watersmeet of the Cegidog and Nant-y-ffrith streams. In February 1708/9, one Robert Davies of Llanerch, writing to the Welsh antiquary, Edward Lhuyd, mentions a "brick tunnel of an hypocaust found near Estyn in Flintsh.", which (or part of which) seems to have been in the writer's possession,[11] and Lhuyd, in his *Parochialia*, mentions a Roman bath with brick work at Ffrith in Hope parish.

In 1828 some levelling of Offa's Dyke, which runs close to Ffrith, and there crosses the Cegidog, and again in 1870 and 1874 the erection of some houses near the Blue Bell Inn at Ffrith brought to light Roman foundations, including parts of a hypocaust, a Roman altar with mutilated inscription, some pieces of rough lead, slag, and charcoal, Samian and other potsherds, a few fibulæ, and other small objects, and some coins—according to one account, twenty-two copper of Nero, Vespasian, Trajan, Iulius Agricola (*sic*), and Maximian, with silver of Agrippa; according to another, Domitian, Nerva, Marcus Antoninus (M. Aurelius, presumably), and Postumus. A few of these finds are still in the possession of Mr. R. H. Venables Kyrke of Nant-y-ffrith Hall, who has allowed Miss Taylor to look through them for this article. They include some sixteen coins, partly illegible but comprising one or two Domitian, one Nerva, one Trajan, one Verus, one doubtful Marcus and one Postumus, some bronze brooches and other bronze and bone objects, and some flue-tiles and bricks.[12]

[11] For Davies, see MS. Bodl., Ashmole, 1814, fo. 399; from the context it seems to me that Davies meant by "tunnel" some box tiles, and it is possible that he intended to write "funnel", which was sometimes used by old antiquaries for this kind of flue. For the Parochialia, see *Arch. Camb.*, April 1909, Supplement, p. 97.

[12] For the finds of 1828 and later years see the Catalogue of the Temporary Museum, Wrexham, 1874 (in *Arch. Camb.*, 1874), pp. iii-iv, and compare *Arch. Camb.*, 1871, p. 98. The inscribed altar has

No other Roman remains have been recorded from Hope parish, and it seems natural to connect Camden's finds with those definitely assignable to Ffrith. If so, we should place at Ffrith the fort which Camden's LEGIO XX seems to prove and we should explain the hypocausts as belonging to the usual military bath-house. The matter is not, however, quite clear. The tiles found at Ffrith since 1700 do not bear any recorded stamp of Legio XX, such as we might expect. Moreover, the character of the site is somewhat puzzling. The hamlet of Ffrith stands in a little plain, overlooked on all sides (and probably within bow shot) by steep hills, while the two streams which meet here are hardly large enough to provide any defence. To my eyes, the spot, while not an impossible site for a small Roman fort, can hardly be called highly probable. We need excavation to shew the character of the remains at Ffrith. Lead mining is still carried on in this district, and they might belong to a mining settlement, such as we meet near Flint. It might even be argued that, if legionaries served for a while as miners—as legionaries seemingly served at times elsewhere—Camden's tiles might possibly be thus explained, although their natural significance is in favour of a definite fort.

(ii) Varis (?).

Our next stage westward involves much more doubt. We know from the Antonine Itinerary that a Roman road ran from Chester (Deva) westwards, past a spot called Varis, to the unquestionable Roman sites, to be mentioned

been lost without a surviving copy, with many other objects. Lewis (*Topogr. Dict. of Wales*, under "Hope") gives a perhaps glorified account, including gold rings, silver pins, part of a lamp stamped . . . NINVS, and the first of the two lists of coins given in the text. The shorter list is of the coins exhibited at Wrexham in 1874. See also Palmer's *Country Townships of Wrexham*, p. 123.

below, of Caerhyn (Conovium) and Carnarvon (Segontium).[13] Unfortunately the line of this road is practically unknown between Chester and Caerhyn. We can only say that, whether it ran by Hope or further north, near Hawarden or Mold, it must have crossed the Vale of Clwyd somehow, and we should expect to find a fort at the crossing.

Camden, long ago, attracted by a false similarity of names, put Varis at Bottfari, or Bodfari, a village about a mile east of the Clwyd river, between Denbigh and Caerwys, and thought to identify its remains with the ancient site of Moel-y-gaer, some 600 feet above the valley.[14] Botffari is not at all unsuitable, so far as its situation is concerned. A Roman road running from Chester past Mold, up the Alyn Valley and down that of the Whielor, would reach Botffari and the vale of Clwyd without encountering serious natural obstacles. Moel-y-gaer itself, however, is certainly not a Roman site, as its position and various objects found in it alike demonstrate, and it has been proposed by many writers to place Varis closer to the Clwyd on its east bank, in the grounds of Pontrufydd Hall. Here, it is said, Roman cinerary, urns, and ornaments and weapons and coins were discovered early in the nineteenth century, and a writer in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, for 1850, declares that the Roman walls of the station were then clearly to be seen: a road supposed to be Roman has also been traced in the kitchen garden of the Hall, running one way towards the Clwyd and the other way towards Caerwys.

[13] *Itin. Ant.*, 482. From Segontium to Conovium 24 Roman miles, from Conovium to Varis 18, from Varis to Chester 32; total 74 Roman, that is about 68-69 English miles. The distance from Chester to Carnarvon is, in a bee-line, 58 miles, and by the modern railway 68½ miles.

[14] Camden, ed. 1590, p. 547.

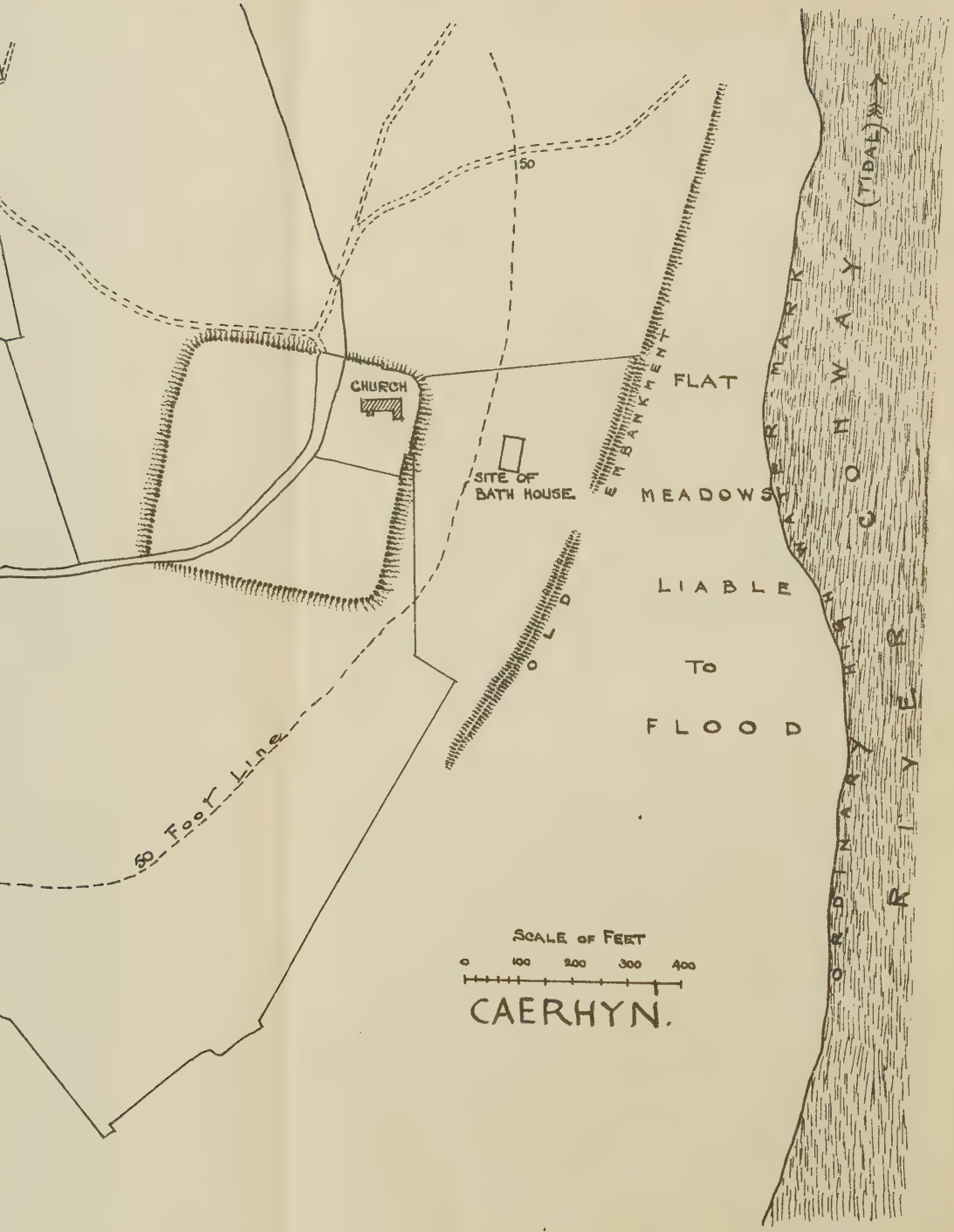
Unfortunately, these satisfactory-sounding assertions are not accompanied satisfactory by details. Nothing seems to be now visible on the site; no pottery or coins are preserved to testify to the Roman occupation, and a Second Brass coin of Sabina, said to have been discovered "near Bodfari" in 1831, is the one definite Roman object connected with Botffari of which any description has been recorded. Moreover, the similarity of names is, as Professor Sir John Rhŷs tells me, quite deceptive. The proper form of the modern name seems to be Botffari, not Bodfari, while Varis would have developed, not into either of these forms, but into something like Bodwer, or Bodwar. It will be well, therefore, to await more evidence before placing Varis at Pontrufydd, or, indeed, near Botffari. It is possible that it lay further north. Certainly the only piece of modern road in this region seems to me to have a Roman look, runs westwards from the Clwyd near St. Asaph, past Glascoed and Sarnrug for about six miles. This is straight, and old: for half the distance it forms a parish boundary.

(iii) Caerhyn.[15]

When we pass from the Clwyd to the next valley of North Wales, that of the Conway river, we pass from doubt to certainty. Four miles south of Conway town, on the west bank of the stream, at Caerhyn church, is a site which no one can dispute. The testimony alike of the *Itinerary* and of a Roman milestone, found not far away,[16] shew that we should seek here, or hereabouts, the

[15] Properly spelt, I believe, Caerhun. It stands for either Cae Rhûn (Rhûn's field) or Caer Rhûn (Rhûn's fort). Rhûn is a well-known old Welsh personal name.

[16] Now in the British Museum: *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vii, n. 1,099, *Archæologia Aeliana*, ix, 221, *Archæological Journal*, xii, 174, etc. The findspot is on the Roman road, which is still traceable (as I am told) on the mountain west of Caerhyn.


150
CHURCH
SITE OF
BATH HOUSE
EMBANKMENT
FLAT
MEADOWS
LIABLE
TO
FLOOD
OLD
50 Foot Line
HIGH WATER MARK
ORDINARY (TIDAL) WATER
RIVER
SCALE OF FEET
0 100 200 300 400
CAERHYN.

Roman-British Canovium or Conovium,[17] whose name survives in that of Conway town and river. The testimony of actual remains shews that this Conovium is to be found at Caerhyn church, and to be interpreted as a Roman fort (fig 5). For here, in a position such as the Roman soldier loved, a slightly elevated point in an open valley near a river, are the grass-grown mounds which tell to an experienced eye of a buried Roman fort, and here Roman remains have been found in plenty. Camden, in the sixteenth century, knew of ruins here and perceived that they were to be connected with the place-name Conovium. About 1650 Samuel Lee unearthed here a hypocaust and tiles stamped LEG XX V, and other similar discoveries seem to have been made about 1700.[18] Finally, in 1801, the Gloucestershire antiquary, Samuel Lysons, dug out a bath building outside the fort, which is still visible in ruin, and which may well have been identical with the structure seen by Lee.[19] If we sum up these and a few other chance finds, we can draw some useful conclusions. The fort itself, as yet almost unexcavated, was about 430 feet square: it

[17] Conovio in the *Itinerary*, Kanovio on the milestone, Canubio in *Ravennas*, p. 429-15.

[18] S. Lee, *Chronicon Cestrense* (1656), p. 4, published at the end of Daniel King's *Vale Royall of England*. Gale, *Itinerarium Antonini* (1719) p. 122, perhaps in consequence of later finds, cites tiles stamped LEG X, which are quoted from him by Gibson and Gough in their additions to Camden (Gibson, 1722, p. 801; Gough, 1806, iii, 190); from Gough, Hübner CIL, vii, 19.* These are plainly broken specimens of LEG XX V (or XXVV) and have nothing to do either with a Tenth Legion (as Gale and Gibson thought) or the Legio II Augusta at Isca, as Hübner suggested with his too frequent disregard for British geography; see *Eph. Epigraphica*, vii, n. 1,125. Scarth's remark that "bricks have been found inscribed LEG XX VV" (*Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1868, p. 120) is doubtless worded loosely.

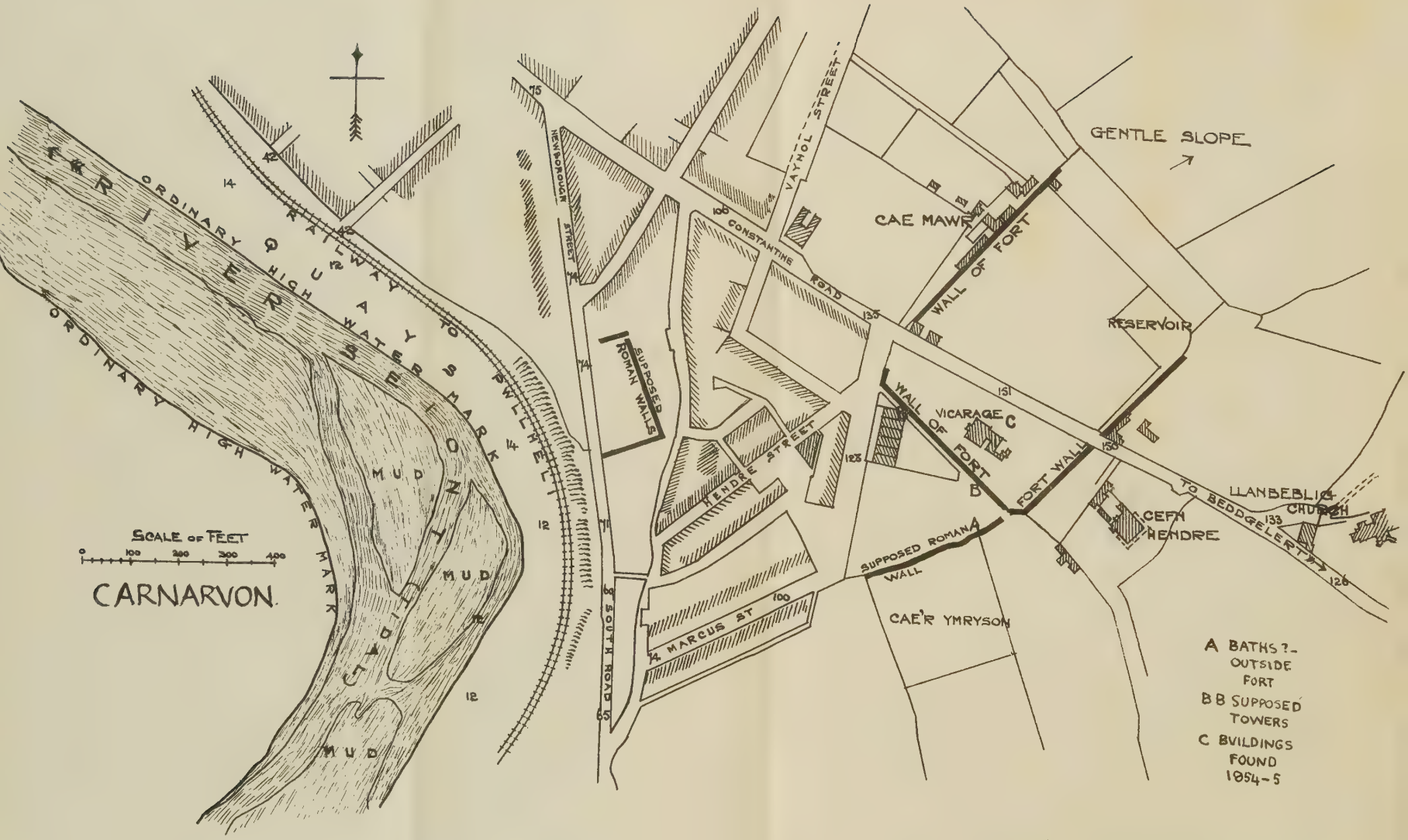
[19] Lysons *Archæologia*, xvi, 127-134, with plates and plans. Oddly enough, Lysons gives the size of the fort wrongly in his text, though his plate is right. See also *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1797, ii, 296.

covered a trifle over four acres, and would have accommodated a cohort of 500 infantry—though whether this cohort would have consisted solely of foot (*cohors peditata*) or included a proportion of mounted men (*cohors equitata*) cannot at present be determined. Of the character of the ramparts round the fort—whether built of earth or of stone—and of the internal buildings we know as yet nothing. We do not know very much even of the bath-house, which stood outside and below the fort, between it and the river. It was a structure 128 feet long, and apparently a good specimen of the ordinary small military bath-building, slightly complicated perhaps by alterations and reconstructions. But the plan and description left us by Lysons are insufficient to make its history really clear, and the time-worn ruins visible to-day tell no tales.

The smaller objects recorded as found in it include a copper coin of Domitian, some bits of decorated Samian, which plainly belong to the second half of the first century,[20] a plain Samian saucer with the—perhaps early—stamp PATRICI, much other pottery, part of an amphora, a lamp, an iron chain, and so forth. We can hardly doubt that the fort of Conovium was planted by the Romans as early as A.D. 85, and probably somewhat earlier. But how much earlier it was occupied, and how long it was held, and what was its garrison, are questions which can only be answered by excavation.[21]

[20] Lysons' plate iv, 3, shews a piece of type 29, and some, if not all, of the other pieces figured by him are of early date. Type 29 seems to have been in use in Britain till A.D. 85, but it probably disappeared soon after. *See* Appendix.

[21] I omit from the above account three objects sometimes attributed to the Roman fort: (i) A round leather shield, with iron bars and boss and bronze studs, found at Caerhyn in 1797 (*Arch.*, xvi, 128; *Chester Archæol. Journal*, new series, v, 67, with cut), is not Roman, so far as I can judge. (ii) The round mass of copper stamped SOCIO


RIVER SEIONT
ORDINARY HIGH WATER MARK
ORDINARY HIGH WATER MARK
MUD
MUD
MUD
SCALE OF FEET
0 100 200 300 400
CARNARVON.
RAILWAY
QUAY
TO SMARK
PWLLHELI
NEWBOROUGH STREET
SUPPOSED ROMAN WALLS
HENDRE STREET
MARCUS ST
SOUTH ROAD
VAYNOL STREET
CONSTANTINE ROAD
CAE MAWR
GENTLE SLOPE
WALL OF FORT
RESERVOIR
VICARAGE C
WALL OF FORT
FORT WALL
B
SUPPOSED ROMAN WALL
CAE'R YMRYSON
CEFN HENDRE
LLANBEBLIG CHURCH
TO BEDDGELERT
A BATHS?- OUTSIDE FORT
BB SUPPOSED TOWERS
C BUILDINGS FOUND 1954-5

(iv). Carnarvon.

If we now pass further west, beyond the northern outliers of Snowdon to the pleasant littoral which fronts Anglesea and Carnarvon Bay, we find again a well-attested Roman fort with remains that may belong to something more than a fort, on the outskirts of Carnarvon near the right bank of the Seiont river (fig. 6). No systematic excavations have ever been attempted here: parts of some buildings were uncovered in 1845-6 during the erection of Llanbeblig vicarage, and chance finds have been numerous at all times. The principal remains are a little south-east of Carnarvon, on either side of the Beddgelert road, crowning a low hill which rises about 150 feet above sea level and commanding a wide outlook. Here the outline of a rectangular fort can easily be traced. Fragments of its rampart wall—originally rubble faced with coursed stone—can still be seen at the farm of Cae-mawr and round the vicarage garden, and its size can be fixed at about 450 by 550 feet, that is, some 5½ acres. Within this area stone foundations have been unearthed both under the Beddgelert road (as I am told) and still more in the vicarage garden—that is, near the south-western front of the fort—where a well and three or four buildings, or parts of one large structure, provided with heating and bathing arrangements were opened in 1845-6. Outside

ROMÆ and NAT SOL, now at Mostyn Hall, generally ascribed to Caerhyn (Gibson's *Camden*, ed. 1722, p. 802; CIL, vii, 1,200; etc.), seems to have been really found in Anglesea (O. W. Stanley, *Arch. Journ.*, xxx, 60). (iii) The inscription of Caracalla, probably a milestone, found in 1806 at Ty Coch near Caerhun (J. W. Williams, *Tourists' Guide through Co. of Carnarvon* (Carnarvon, 1821), p. 52; CIL. vii, n. 1,164; Westwood, *Lapid. Walliæ*, p. 183, with bad explanation), belongs to another Caerhyn in Bangor parish, a couple of miles south of Bangor town. It stood once, no doubt, beside the Roman road connecting Conovium and Segontium (Carnarvon).

the fort, some 15 yards from its southern corner, another building with heating arrangements was detected in 1846.[22] Other less substantial traces of Roman occupation, the foundations (may be) of huts and cottages, with rubbish pits and many wells, have been noticed outside the north-west face of the fort, when new houses have been built near the junction of Constantine Street and Vaenol Street in and since 1893-4.[23] To the south-east of the fort one or two burials have been discovered.[24] Lastly, we have to mention ancient walls, of uncertain but quite possibly Roman age, which seem to stretch down the hill from the fort towards the river and to secure communication between Roman Carnarvon and the sea. They may be compared with the ancient walls at Lincoln which stretch from the Roman area—first fortress and later municipality—on the hill down to the Witham, and which, while usually called Roman, are not demonstrably of Roman age.

The site has produced a great number of small remains, many of them of much historical importance. Two fragments of a large inscription, found in 1846 and 1852 (fig. 7), serving as covers for flues or drains in the Roman buildings in the vicarage garden, shew that at some date in the period A.D. 198-211, the cohors i Sunicorum was in garrison here and restored an aqueduct which had fallen into disrepair.[25] Two or three other fragments testify

[22] For the finds of 1845-6, see *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, pp. 75, 177, 284; *ibid*, 1847, p. 275. Some plans are there given, but they are obviously incomplete and unsatisfactory.

[23] *Arch. Camb.*, 1893, pp. 190, 276; 1894, p. 75; *Manchester Guardian*, 10 April 1905, etc.

[24] *Arch. Camb.*, 1851, p. 82.

[25] *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 77; 1853, p. 71; 1905, p. 73, with good illustration; Becker *Rhein. Mus.*, 1858, p. 259; CIL. vii, 142; Westwood *Lapid. Walliæ*, p. 172, plate lxxxi (not quite accurate). I have examined the inscription in Carnarvon Castle. The text began with

Fig. 7. ROMAN INSCRIPTION, CARNARVON.

that this was not the only stone inscription of the Roman fort.[26] An "attenuated plate of gold", 4 inches long and 1 inch broad, inscribed with such words as Adônai, Elôai, Iaô, found (it is said) in 1828 (fig. 8), belongs apparently to the large series of Gnostic or semi-gnostic charms and amulets which were current in the middle and later Roman Empire, and are supposed to have been first devised or popularized by the Gnostic Basileides in the second century of our era.[27] Many coins are also recorded. A gold piece of the Emperor Tiberius and a probably republican denarius are the earliest; four of Vespasian and one of Domitian (A.D. 87) belong to the late first century; from the second century no specimen seems known; the third century has yielded a few—a plated silver of Septimius Severus, a Salonina, six Tetricus, a Claudius Gothicus, two Aurelian,

the names of Septimius Severus and Caracalla: then followed the name of Geta, erased after his death, but the line containing it (the original line 3) was almost entirely destroyed when the stone was chadded in two. The rest seems to have been *aq*]*uaeductium vetus*[*tate conla*]*bs(um) coh(ors) i Sunic(orum) restit(uit)* [*sub . . . .*] *pr*[*aefecto.* The last word of the fifth line is RESTI for *restituit*: in the sixth line there are traces only of what may be PR, a vestige of *pr(aefectus)*, and the line may have given the name of the officer then commanding the cohort. The cohort was in Britain as early as A.D. 124, but the Carnarvon inscription is the only clue we have to its quarters at any date. The Sunuci (so more usually spelt) were a Belgic tribe. But how many of the men in the cohort came in A.D. 200 from Belgic homes, it is not easy to guess.

[26] Fragment with ▲SEI and IAI on the other side, now in Carnarvon Museum (*Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 76; Westwood *Lapid. Walliæ*, p. 172; *Ephem. Epigr.* vii, 850). Fragment with SVC, seen by Colt Hoare *Giraldus Cambrensis*, ii, 94; *Arch. Journ.* xxxi, 350; *Ephem. Epigr.* iii, p. 119).

[27] Palgrave, *Quarterly Review*, March, 1828, p. 488 *note*, hence *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, i (1829), 116; *Arch. Camb.*, 1848, p. 363; 1854, p. 253; 1879, p. 102; Hübner *Inscr. Christ. Britann.* n. 215; now lost. Most of the so-called Basileidan or Abrasax amulets are engraved on gems.

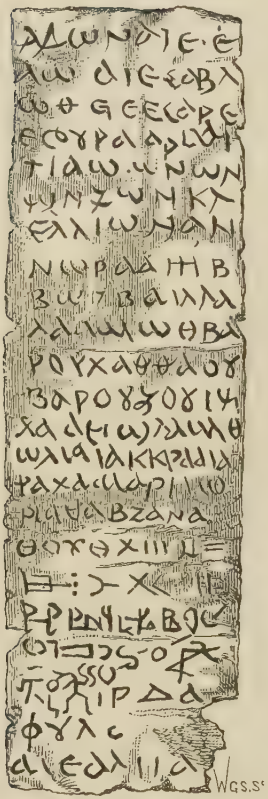


Fig. 8 (p. 33).

three Carausius, an Allectus; the fourth century, lastly, has yielded many Constantinian and one or two of Valens and Valentinian who reigned late in that epoch.[28] Much Samian and other pottery has also been found, though not published, and among the Samian can be distinguished a few bits of the first century along with others unquestionably of the second, and, perhaps, of the later second century.[29] Other finds include a lamp of FORTIS, of the late first or early second century, a "crossbow" fibula of the fourth century (fig. 9), a small bronze cupid, a bronze bell, bits of glass, and many other such minor objects.[30]

The interpretation of these finds is to some extent easy. Not only is it fairly clear that the Roman

[28] This list is compiled from *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, pp. 78, 177, 284; 1847, p. 275; 1849, p. 150; 1850, p. 227; Pennant, *Tours in Wales* (coin of Tiberius, ed. 1883, ii, 499; hence Scarth, *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.*, xxiv, 110). The coin noted *Arch. Camb.*, 1908, p. 407 is not Vespasian but fourth century. I have omitted the Greek and early Roman coins recorded *Arch. Camb.*, 1850, p. 227 as coming from "a captain connected with this port": they are presumably foreign. The absence of second century coins must be accidental, but is complete: the supposed Faustina (*Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 78) is a fourth century Fausta (Cohen No. 7). The list is, of course, only of coins recorded in print. It could be largely augmented from private collections in Carnarvon.

[29] I take these details mainly from the collection of Mr. C. A. Jones, which I was allowed to look through in 1908. It contains one or two

troops occupied the site in the second half of the first century. We can also reasonably attempt to fix the exact date. Two moments in that period suggest themselves as historically possible beginnings of the occupation, the attack by Suetonius on Anglesea in 60, and the general conquest of Wales by Frontinus and Agricola in 75-80. Of these, the

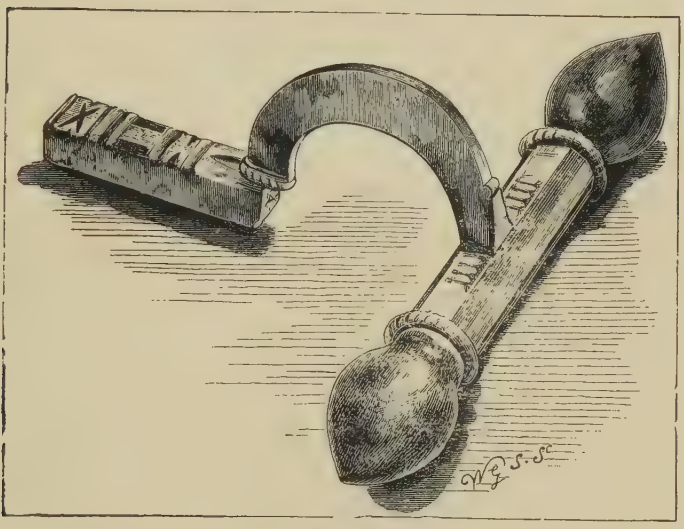


Fig. 9 (p. 34).

second is unquestionably the more likely. The coins and pottery found at Carnarvon are numerous enough to allow inferences impossible with the scanty material of Caerhyn,

bits of type 29, two or three of type 30, some early pieces of type 37, and besides, some examples of type 27 (late first or early second century) and some specimens of the decorated ware made by Cinnamus (middle or late second century), I also copied a stamped amphora handle (LSP▲BO) and a *mortarium* (or *pelvis*), ΔATVG-FECIT: of these the first is published (misread) in the *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.*, 1895, p. 22, the second in *Arch. Camb.*, 1894, p. 76.

[30] For the lamp, see *Arch. Journ.*, xxiv, 184; for the fibula, *Arch. Camb.*, p. 156. The fibula has been lost, with most of the objects once in the Carnarvon Castle Museum. Watkin cites a stamped amphora handle VR†FES from it (*Arch. Journ.*, xxxvi, 162).

and as they shew a very small proportion of early types, they indicate that the occupation probably commenced not in 60 but soon after 75. How long it lasted we cannot as yet determine. The fort was still garrisoned about A.D. 200, as our inscription shews, and the Roman or Romanized occupation plainly went on till near the close of the fourth century. But at the end it very probably was not, as it had been at first, a purely military occupation. The remains found outside the fort indicate one of those 'civil settlements' which occur near many Roman *castella*. They also suggest that the settlement was here less of a mere "bazaar" to the fort than it was elsewhere. Something like a town was perhaps springing up at Carnarvon in later Roman days.

This probability makes the explanation of the buildings found in 1845-6 somewhat doubtful. It would be natural to conjecture that the baths and hypocausts inside the fort belonged to a range of living rooms—possibly officers' quarters—such as at Chesters *(Cilurnum)*, on Hadrian's Wall in Northumberland, has been found to extend from the Headquarters of the fort to its eastern rampart. It would be equally natural to take the hypocaust outside the south corner of our fort for the usual military bath-house. But where the possibility arises of civil life developing around the military garrison, or even of civil life continuing after the garrison had been withdrawn, it is better to wait for excavation. The spade alone can determine the successive stages which Roman Carnarvon may have experienced. Thus much is certain. There is no site in north Wales, and only one or two others in the whole peninsula, which are so likely, if properly and systematically explored, to throw light on the condition of the country in the latest Roman and earliest post-Roman ages.

Lastly, the name. The Itinerary suggests that it was

Segontium, and since Camden's day no reasonable person has doubted this identification. Nor need we doubt that this Segontium is the Cair Segeint, where, according to the *Historia Brittonum*—the so-called Nennius—Constantine, son of Constantine the Great, was buried. It is, of course, a mere legend, devoid of historical truth, but it is interesting as shewing that the Romano-British Segontium was a place to which memories might attach. Whether, however, the name has survived in the river name Seiont, is more doubtful. I cannot trace it further back than Humfrey Lhuyd, in 1572,[31] and Welsh philologists seem agreed that Segontium ought to have dropped not only its *g*, but also its initial *s*, and changed into Heient, as Sabrina into Hafren. The river name Seiont might therefore be the invention of some very early antiquary.[32]

(v) Anglesea (?).

We have found a permanent Roman *castellum* planted on the landward shore of the Menai Straits. Did the Roman army hold any permanent post in the opposite island? Agricola conquered it: the Romans seem to have mined copper in it: the native population of its villages, if less Romanized than the village folk whose homes General Pitt-Rivers excavated in Dorsetshire, at least understood and accepted the use of Roman coins and pottery. But actual evidence for a fort is wanting. A "square camp", measuring 60 by 90 yards in area, at Rhyddgaer, in the parish of Llangeinwen, exactly opposite

[31] *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptionis fragmentum* (Col. Agripp. 1572), fo. 53*b*.

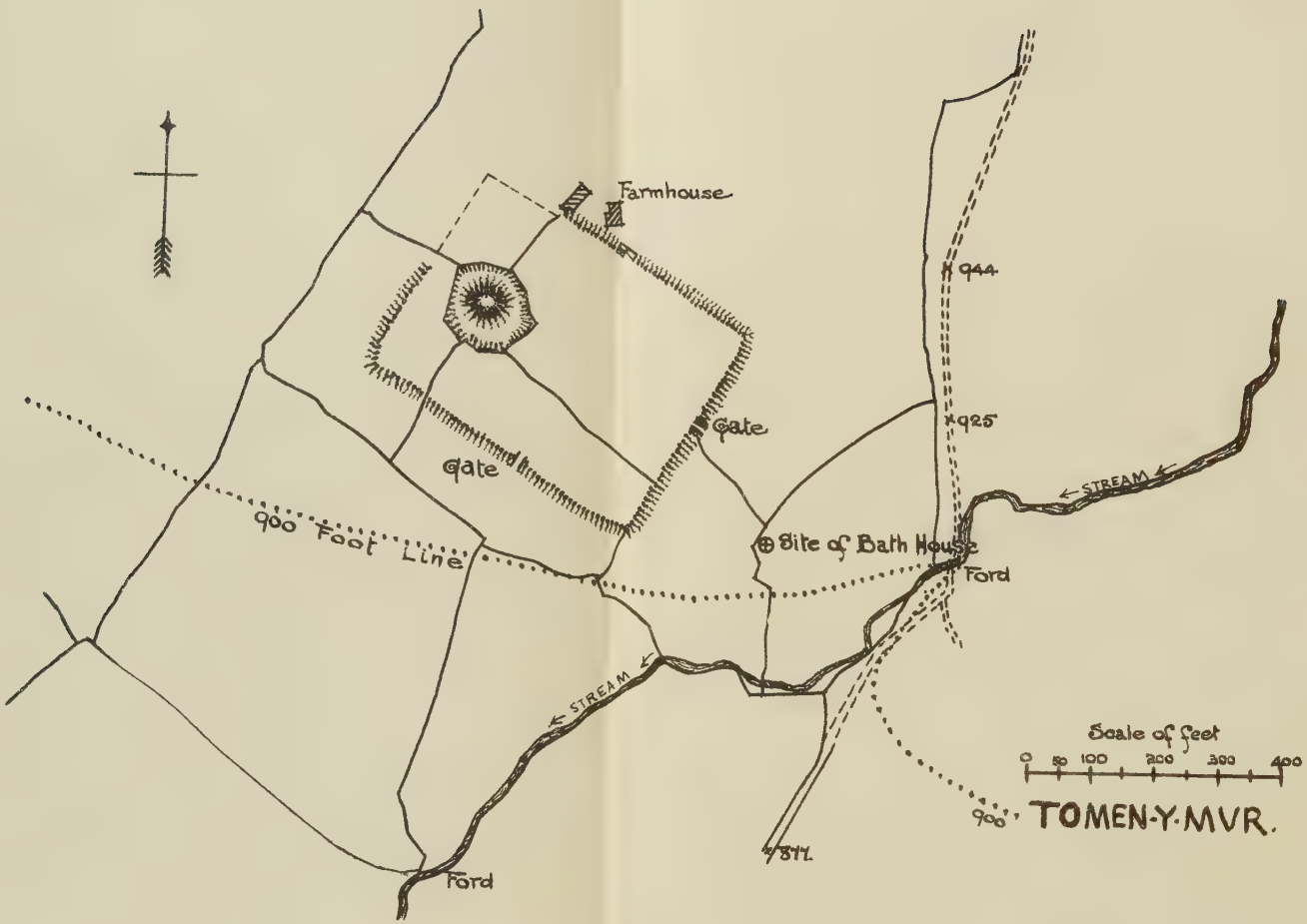
[32] I wish to express my thanks to Mr. R. Gwyneddon Davies, sometime Mayor of Carnarvon, and also to the Rev. J. W. Wynne-Jones, vicar of Llanbeblig, for much help in seeing and examining the antiquities of Segontium.

Carnarvon, is said to have yielded Samian and other Roman or Romano-British pottery, tiles, and coins, of about A.D. 240-340. I have not been able to examine either the site or the objects found on it. It is, however, if rightly described, too small for an auxiliary fort, while its nearness to Carnarvon suggests that, if it was a military site at all, it was rather a tête du trajet, planted, perhaps, in a crisis and subsidiary to Segontium. For the proper discussion of this, as of other alleged Roman camps in Anglesea, further knowledge is imperatively necessary.

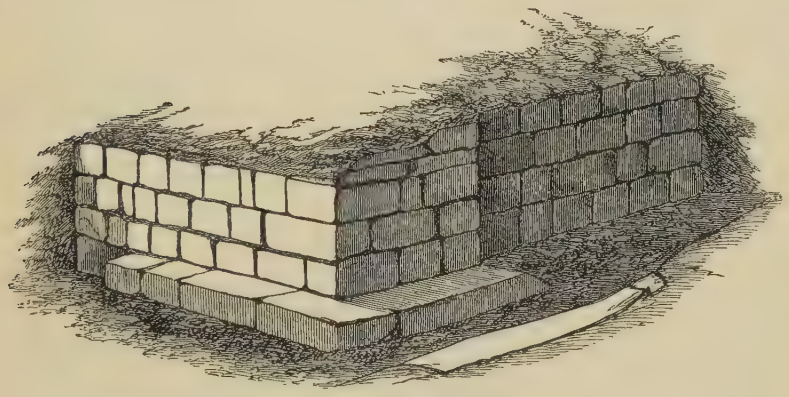
(vi) Tomen-y-mvr.

From Caerhyn (No. iv) a Roman road ran southwards over the hills to western Merionethshire and thence to south Wales. For much of the distance—though not for its first ten or twelve miles—the course of this road is fairly certain and it has been known to the country folk for hundreds of years as Sarn Helen. Leaving the basin of the Conway River near Dolwyddelan, it soon crosses the watershed and descends towards the Vale of Festiniog. There, half-way between Festiniog town and Trawsfynydd, it passes at Tomen-y-mur, the unquestionable site of an "auxiliary" fort, distant some twenty-two or twenty-three miles from Caerhyn. Like Sarn Helen, it has long been known to those that dwelt there near: the first antiquary to recognise it was Robert Vaughan, about 1630, the first to draw attention to it in print, Pennant (1781). Since then, it has received more notice and excavations were attempted about 1850 and 1868.[33]

[33] Vaughan's papers, cited in *Cambrian Register*, 1795, i, 191; Pennant *Tour in Wales* (1781), ii, 103. See also Colt Hoare *Giraldus Cambrensis*. i, p. cliii; *Arch. Camb.*, 1850, p. 327; 1868, p. 474; 1871, p. 190; 1884, p. 334. The papers in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxiv, 117; xxvii, 278, are of less value. The Ordnance Survey


Farmhouse
944
925
Gate
Gate
900 Foot Line
Site of Bath House
Ford
STREAM
STREAM
Scale of feet
0 50 100 200 300 400
900
TOMEN-Y-MVR.
814
Ford

It stands on a gentle eminence half-way down the great slope, some 1,800 feet high, which here forms the eastern side of Festiniog Vale (fig. 10). The ground falls from it on all sides, though to the east the fall is slight: a stream flows near its southern angle: to north, west, and south its outlook is wide. Its area can easily be traced: it is a rectangle with rounded corners, about 390 by 510 feet in length and breadth, that is, a trifle over 4½ acres in extent. Its ramparts have been bared here and there by excava-



Tomen-y-Mur.—Part of Wall and Eastern Entrance.

(Fig. 11.)

tion; they seem to be built in the usual Roman fashion of rubble faced with excellently coursed masonry (fig. 11), and they contain the single courses of thin stone, somewhat resembling "bonding courses", which occur also (for example) in the forts of the Roman Wall between Newcastle and Carlisle. A ditch, and in places two ditches, can be traced outside them. Two gateways, one of them with an appropriate guard-chamber still surviving, have

map (Merioneth, xii, 14) marks a "cellar" in the south-west face of the fort which is apparently the gate, and a "kiln" outside the south-east corner which is apparently the bath-house.

been detected in the centre of the south-east side and a little south of the centre in the south-west side; other gates and guard-chambers doubtless remain to be discovered. Of the internal buildings nothing is known. The one visible feature is a great mound of earth—the Tomen, which gives its name to the place—occupying the north-western quarter of the fort and dominating the landscape. This is not Roman work: it is the "motte" or mound of a medieval fortification belonging to the "motte and bailey" type. It was reared either by Norman-English conquerors of Wales or by Welshmen copying their fashion. Here, as in many other cases, a medieval "motte" or keep has been inserted into the enclosure already given by a Roman fort. Outside the fort, towards the south and the stream mentioned above, the spade has revealed a building with bricks, tiles, drains, and charcoal—probably the normal military bath-house, placed as usual near to water. Another building, found somewhere near it, may belong to the "civil settlement". Some three hundred yards to the north is an "amphitheatre", said to measure twenty-seven by thirty-seven yards, but this seemed to my eye more doubtful. Nor would it be easy without excavation to pronounce upon certain appearances of earthworks to the south-east of the fort.

The smaller remains have been ill-recorded. No coins or potsherds are mentioned specifically in print, and I can quote only a few pieces of Samian, shown me by the farmer of Tomen-y-mur, which may perhaps belong to the later years of the first century.[34] In contrast with this paucity of small objects is a long list of nine inscriptions. All (as it chances) are very brief, but in total they exceed

[34] Type 37 with the arrowheads, S pattern, rabbits, etc., which generally denote the first century.

To face p. 41.

Fig 12. ROMAN CENTURIAL STONES, etc, from Tomen-y-mur, now in Harlech Castle
(From photograph by D. H. Parry).

anything of the kind yet found in other Welsh *castella*. It may be worth while to set out the series in full. Nos. 1-8 are "centurial stones", measuring on the average some eight inches in height by fifteen inches in length. No. 9 is a fragment of a longer and more ornate inscription, the rest of which may perhaps be unearthed by some future excavator.[35] Fig. 12, taken from a photograph by Mr. D. H. Parry of Harlech, shews Nos. 3—7 and 9 in their present position in Harlech Castle. The texts in full are:—

(1) ›AND
PXXXIX

(2) ›IVLI
MANS

(3) ↄPERPE
TVI
P· XX

(4) ↄIVL
PERPETVI
P· XXI

---

[35] Nos. 1, 2 are said to be at Tan-y-bwlch Hall. Nos. 3-7 and 9 are at Harlech Castle: I have seen photographs and squeezes. No. 8 was once at Maentwrog Church. For 1, see Lysons, *Archæol.*, xiv, 276, and Colt Hoare, *Gir. Camb.*, i, p. cliv: both give it as a separate inscription. Westwood, *Arch. Camb.*, 1856, p. 142, and *Lapid.*, plate 79 (5), gives 1 and 2 together as on the same stone (hence Hübner, *Corpus*, vii, 143, and others). This is not very probable, and it is to be noted that neither Lysons' informant nor Colt Hoare (who himself saw the stone) allude to No. 2. There may be two separate stones built up together at Tan-y-bwlch, and Westwood (depending on a friend's rubbing) may have failed to detect this: a re-examination of the original is desirable. For 3-6 and 9, see *Arch. Camb.*, 1856, p. 142; 1868, p. 477; 1871, p. 197; Westwood, *Lapid.*, plates 74, 78; *Corpus*, 144, 146, 1339*a*; *Ephemeris Epigr.*, vii, 851-3. No. 7 is, I believe, unpublished. For 8, see Colt Hoare, *Gir. Camb.*, i, p. clv (hence *Arch. Journ.*, xxxiii, 261; *Ephemeris Epigr.*, iv, 669). In No. 6 I read xxxix (for xxxv usually given) from squeezes, photographs, and a friend's copy. I omit the tombstone inscribed *D. m. Barrect. Carantei* (Westwood *Lapid.*, pp. 156, 240, plate 78; *Ephemeris Epigr.*, vii, 854), as it is probably of late date and perhaps unconnected with the fort. Hübner (*Ephemeris*, iii, 67) cites another inscription, P. CXXV, but he has misread his authority.

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(1) ›AND
PXXXIX

(2) ›IVLI
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(3) ƆPERPE
TVI
P· XX

(4) ƆIVL
PERPETVI
P· XXI

---

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(5) ↄPERPETVI
P XXII

(6) ↄIVLI
PERPETVI
P · XXXIX

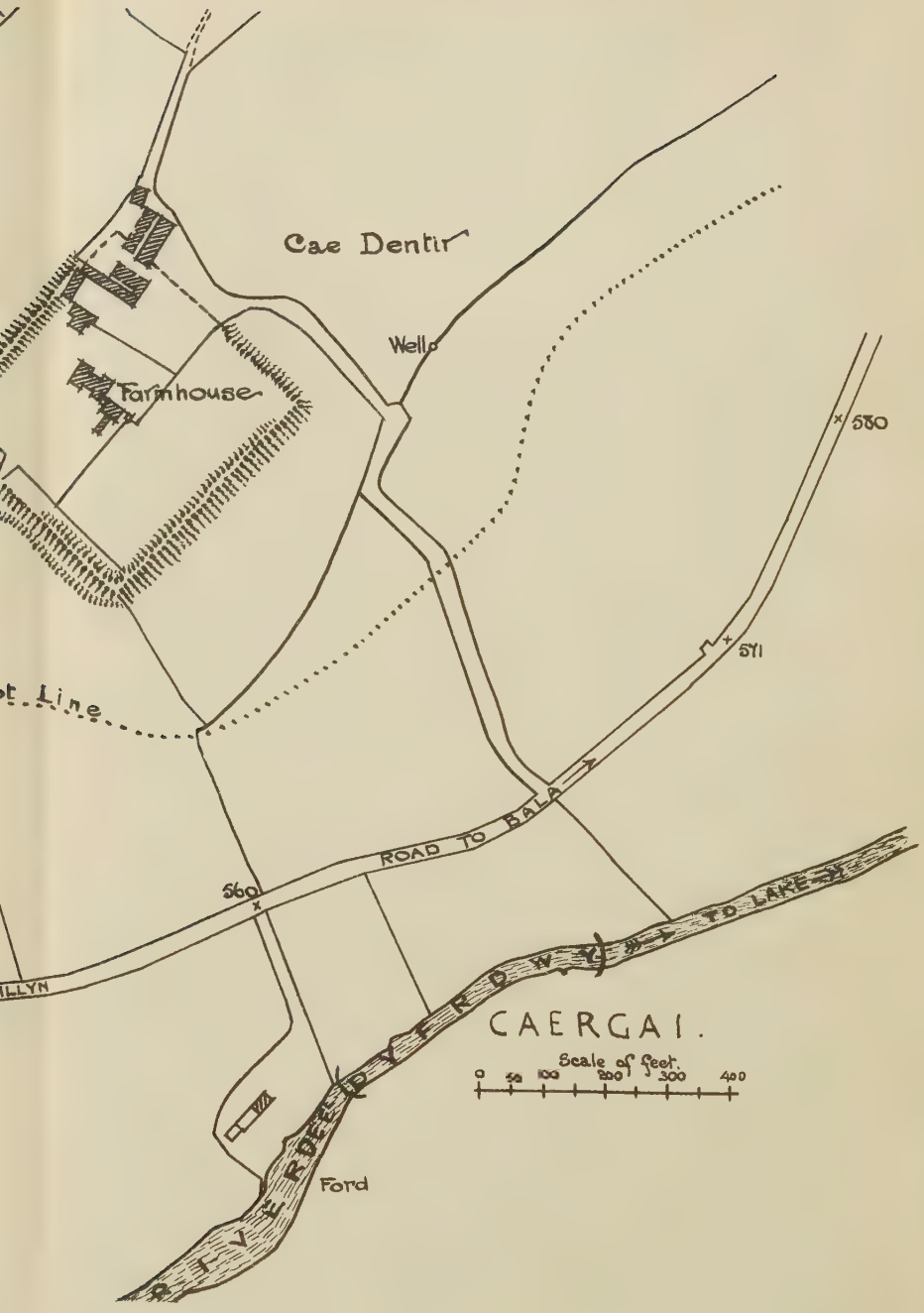
(7) ↄPERPE
P XX/(?)

(8) MARC....

(9)
PRC

That is, No. 1: "the century commanded by And . . . ., built 39 feet (or paces, perhaps) of wall"; No. 2, "the century commanded by Iulius Mansuetus built" (a distance not stated); Nos. 3-7, "the century commanded by Iulius Perpetuus built various lengths—20 feet or paces, 21 feet, 22 feet, 39 feet, and (perhaps) 20 or 25 feet", though the numeral in No. 7 is doubtful. These figures probably refer to the ramparts of the fort, which were, as usual, constructed by the soldiers; to what regiment the centuries of And . . . ., of Iulius Mansuetus, and of Iulius Perpetuus belonged is, of course, uncertain. No. 8 is a fragment, said by its finder to be "centurial". No. 9, lastly, is a fragment of two and a half fine tall letters from the last line of a more elaborate inscription, which may have mentioned the Governor—*legatus* PRO *praetore*—of Britain at the time when it was set up, but is really too brief for hypothesis.

The whole series is valuable as showing that Tomen-y-mur is the work of military men. As we have seen, its remains claim by their character to belong to a fort. Here, therefore, as at Caerhyn and Carnarvon, we have that combination of epigraphic and other archæological evidences which best proves military occupation, and we may toss aside the descriptions of Tomen-y-mur as a "city", which previous writers have now and again put forward. It is unfortunate that we cannot go on to date the fort. The Samian potsherds, mentioned above, suggest that it was established in the Flavian period (A.D. 70-95). But it is, of course, possible that the first establishment


Cae Dentir
Wells
Farmhouse
580
571
ROAD TO BALA
560
ROAD TO LAKE
CAERGAI.
Scale of feet.
0 50 100 200 300 400
Ford

of the fort might date from the first century, and its stone walls be due to later rebuilding. Excavation alone could determine this, and excavation is here doubly desirable. For if the mound of Tomen-y-mur be a "motte", the site holds secrets alike of Roman and of medieval history.

The Roman name of the fort is unknown. The ancient looking appellation, Heriri Mons, which appears in the Ordnance Survey maps and in many books of the last century, is a mere literary fraud. Heriri, otherwise spelt Hereri, Ereri and the like, is an old name for the Snowdon mountains which occurs in the *Historia Brittonum*—the so-called Nennius—and in various later writers, including Camden. In the eighteenth century it was picked up by Bertram for use in his forged Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester. He feigned a Roman road to have run from Carnarvon to Wroxeter, and he made "Heriri mons" the first station on it, twenty-five miles out from Carnarvon. The English antiquaries who believed in him set to work, naturally enough, to find a site for this station. Stukeley put it at "Raranvaur Hill, near Bala". Colt Hoare, with a fuller knowledge of North Wales, put it at Tomen-y-mur. Later writers have followed him. But it is a hopeless misname, and since it has now long been certain that "Richard of Cirencester" is a forgery, we should do better to delete "Heriri Mons" from our books and maps.

(vii) Caergai.

The interior of North Wales is crossed from east to west by a long valley of varying width, which gives a continuous passage to modern road and railway past Corwen and Bala from the basin of the Dee to the estuary of Dolgelly. Few Roman remains seem to have been found in this valley. But one spot in it, the farm of

Caergai near Bala, is the unquestioned site of a Roman fort. Its position is strong and striking. Planted on a spur of rounded hill from which the ground falls sharply in almost every direction, it looks out over the south end of Bala Lake and the tiny plain of Llanuwchllyn 100 feet below it. Antiquaries have recognised it as a Roman fort since Camden's days, and various remains and discoveries attest its character.[36] Its site is shown on fig. 13.

The outline of the fort is still traceable. Its ramparts and ditch enclose a square of about 140 yards each way, that is just four acres. The ramparts seem to have been constructed in stone; in the farmyard some of the facing stones can be seen *in situ*, but the masonry in general has been patched out of recognition. Of the interior buildings nothing seems known; discoveries have been made only outside the fort. On the slope to the south, I was shewn foundations, possibly of a bath-house, and a field on the east side called Cae Dentir, yielded about 1865 many coarse grey urns containing human ashes and in 1885 a still more notable group of finds.

This was a trench 2½ feet deep, full of black soil and charcoal, enclosing a tiny square (much as in fig. 14), with a pit containing decorated Samian and other potsherds close to its north edge. Lying in, or at the top of the trench, was a block of red sandstone, 30 inches long, 23 inches thick, 10 inches high, with carving and lettering that shewed it to be the bottom of a once considerable monu-

[36] Camden *Britannia*, ed. 1600, p. 593. So, a little later, Robert Vaughan, cited in *Arch. Camb.*, 1850, 254, and *Cambrian Register* 1795, i 191. For later accounts see *Arch. Camb.*, 1850, p. 204; 1885, p. 196. The tombstone recorded by Vaughan (*hec iacet Salvianus*, etc.) is probably later than the scope of this paper. Whether the entry in the *Annales Cambriae* for A.D. 656—"strages Gaii Campi"—refers to Caergai is, I imagine, not worth deciding. Caergai is anyhow not in a plain.

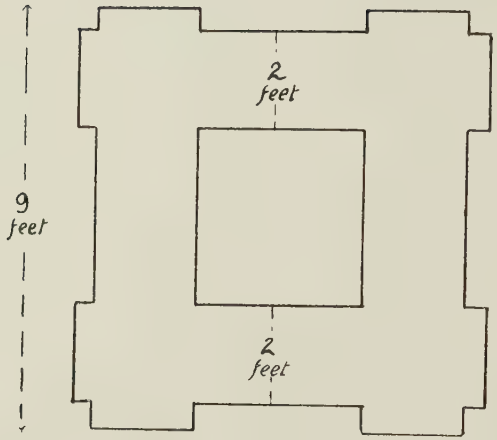


FIG. 14 (p. 44).

Fig. 15 (p. 45). ROMAN INSCRIPTION, CAERGAI.

(From a photograph by Mr. A. Newstead).

ment (fig. 15). In front is an inscription *Iulius Gaveronis f(ilius) fe(cit) mil(es) cho. i Nerviorum*, "Iulius, son of Gavero, soldier of the first cohort of Nervii, made this." Above the inscription is the lowest part of a relief which apparently consisted of a man and an animal; on the left side are traces of a serpent's coils, belonging to some other relief. The whole find has been taken to be sepulchral. But, though occurring near Roman burials, it seems distinct from them; the inscription and carving can be most naturally interpreted as votive, and the square trench may perhaps represent the foundation of some small wooden shrine, in which the slab was (so to say) the altarpiece. In any case, the inscription tells us that at some date or other, not now to be determined, the First Cohort of Nervii was at Caergai. This regiment, as we otherwise know, was in Britain in A.D. 105, and, no doubt, both earlier and later than that year, but this is our only clue to its station.[37]

[37] The best general account of the find is given by D. R. Thomas, *Arch. Camb.*, 1885, p. 203, with plate. For the inscription, see Watkin *Academy*, 4 April 1885, and *Arch. Journ.*, xlii, 386, xliii, 284; myself *Ephem. Epigr.*, vii, 863, and *Chester Museum Catal.*, no. 210, with plate; J. W. Y. Lloyd *Hist. of Powys Fadog*, vi, 110. Watkin interpreted FE MIL as *fecerunt milites*, and read the whole as "the tomb of Julius, set up by soldiers of the first Nervian cohort," but this is epigraphically unlikely. He also states that an urn with burnt bones was found in definite connexion with the inscription, but this seems an error. It is to be noted that FE is cut differently from the rest of the stone and may have been an afterthought. A difficulty raised by Prof. Hübner about the name Iulius is really no difficulty. Iulius is, of course, a Roman gentile name and, as such, ought to be used only by Roman citizens, along with praenomen and cognomen, while the auxiliary soldier, not being a citizen, would be entitled only to one name, and that not a Roman gentile nomen. There are, however, other cases where a non-citizen bears as his single name a Roman gentile nomen or where Iulius is utilized as a cognomen. The lettering of the stone is good, but I should not venture to date it.

Other finds made in or near the fort are bricks and tiles, coins (a Domitian alone is specified), and some few pot-sherds—in sum, a brief list, which tells us little. Nor are the roads by which the fort was approached satisfactorily known. Colt Hoare, influenced by the forged "Richard of Cirencester", supposed a road to have run from Tomen-y-mur by Caergai, Llangynog, and Rowton to Wroxeter. But he admits that it lacked real evidence, and the same judgment must be passed on other roads alleged by later writers. Some of them may well be real Roman roads. But the proofs have yet to be collected. The fact that a Roman road is mentioned in a book or map or by an antiquary is no evidence that it is real, and for many of the "Roman" roads in Mid-Wales we possess nothing but confident assertions repeated glibly and unscrupulously from one writer to another.

(viii) Pennal.

The Roman road from Caerhyn to Tomen-y-mur appears to have passed on southwards into Cardiganshire, to the fort at Llanio (no. xii), and thence to South Wales. But the middle section of its course, from just north of Dolgelly to just south of Aberystwyth, is uncertain. We do not fully know either how it ran, or what forts guarded the fifty miles between Tomen-y-mur and Llanio. We have some reason, however, to seek a fort at Cefn-Caer close to Pennal church, on the north bank of the Dovey, a little west of Machynlleth. The place is suitable. It lies half-way between the two forts of which we have sure knowledge. It overlooks a fairly broad and important estuary. It occupies a site such as Roman soldiers loved, the top of a low hill which rises gently in the middle of a valley, not far from the waterside. Roman remains, too, have been found here. Robert Vaughan mentions a coin of Domitian. Edward Lhuyd and his contemporaries

about 1700 give further details. The fort, says Gibson, quoting one of them in his additions to *Camden*, was—

> "built quadrangularly and encompassed with a strong wall and a broad ditch, of an oval form; excepting that, towards the valley, it extended in a straight line. On the outside of the great ditch next the river Dyvi the foundations of many houses have been discovered, and on a lower Mount there stood a small Fort which may be supposed to have been built of bricks, for that they find there plenty of them. . . . From the fort to the waterside is a broad hard way of pitched pebbles and other stones, continued in a strait line through meadows and marsh-grounds, which may be about 200 yards in length and 10 or 12 in breadth."

They also mention coins of Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, and tiles in the walls of Pennal church. Other bricks were seen by the Cambrian Association in 1865.[38] To-day the church walls tell no tales, and the surface of the hill shows no signs of a Roman fort. But the evidence just cited is not to be lightly rejected, while the example of Llanio will shew that a Roman fort sometimes disappears entirely from the surface (p. 108). The "small fort" built of brick, which Gibson mentions, is probably the bath-house, placed, as usual, below the fort towards the water, and the "many houses" may belong to the civil settlement. We must not, however, lay must stress on this latter phrase. It is one which antiquaries have been wont to use freely without proper proof of its accuracy.

(ix-x) The Severn Valley.—(ix) Caersws.

Mid-Wales is crossed from east to west by a natural valley which resembles the valley of Corwen and Bala, but is more definite and more easily traversed. Its west end is the Dovey estuary: thence a gentle pass leads by Carno to the basin of the upper Severn, and along the Severn there

[38] Vaughan's papers, printed in *Cambrian Register*, 1795, i, 189; Gibson's *Camden*, ii, 778, from Lhuyd or one of Lhuyd's friends, compare MS. Bodl. Ashmole, 1815, fo. 265; *Arch. Camb.* 1866, p. 542.

is an unhindered way past Newtown and Montgomery to Shrewsbury. The Roman troops, as we have seen, held Pennal at the mouth of the Dovey. They also held two other points on the route, Caersws and Caerflos.

Caersws is one of the strategic points of Wales. Here many valleys meet and a pleasant well-watered plain spreads among the hills. Here, too, begins an easy passage towards England; here is the furthest point that an invader from the east could easily reach in Mid-Wales. Pennant apparently was the first antiquary to notice a Roman fort here. Later enquirers have added much. In 1848 and 1854-5 attempts were made to excavate, and among other discoveries a military bath-house—generally miscalled a "villa"—was unearthed close to the goods shed of the modern railway.[39] Finally, in 1909, Professor Bosanquet undertook the proper excavation of the site, and his results are greatly widening our knowledge. For a full account of Caersws we must wait till his good work is finished and his report published. The following paragraphs give only a general sketch suitable to the present article. The site is shewn on fig. 16.

The fort stands on level ground close to the north bank of the river Carno. It was reckoned by Colt Hoare to measure five hundred and forty-four feet each way, and though the nature of the rampart makes the area rather difficult to calculate, his figures seem to be roughly correct and the interior may be estimated at a little over

[39] Pennant, *Tour in Wales*, ii (1784), 361, with plate of tile; see also *Cambrian Register*, 1796, ii, 378; Colt Hoare, *Gir. Camb.*, i, p. clvii; Gough, *Additions to Camden*, reproducing Pennant; *Arch. Camb.*, 1848, p. 91; 1856, p. 366; 1857, p. 151; 1872, p. 75; *Montgom. Collections*, ii, 51. The published plan of the bath-house is too unsatisfactory to be here reproduced. In examining the site I have received much help and information both from Professor Bosanquet and his collaborators, and from Dr. Davies Rees, of Caersws.

F. TO MACHYNLLETH
408
MEINICOCHION
STREAM
PENDRE
EAST GATE
CAERSWS
CAMBRIAN RAILWAY STATION
SCHOOL
CHURCH
VAN
RAILWAY.
GOODS SHED
RIVER SEVERN
SCALE OF FEET
0 100 200 300 400
A. Streets in Fort
B. Principia "
C. Granary. "
D. Site of Hypocaust
E. Bath-house outside Fort
F. Wells etc. of civil settlement.

six and a half acres. The ramparts consisted of a bank of clay twenty-five to thirty feet thick with occasional wooden towers. A stout wall of red sandstone, now almost all destroyed, seems to have been built in front of this rampart, perhaps at a later date and as a stronger substitute for it. Two, or in places three, ditches further defended the fort which, placed as it was on level ground, gained little strength from nature. Within the ramparts, Professor Bosanquet has traced several streets and three buildings in stone or brick. One is a Headquarters, measuring seventy by ninety-five feet, fitted with a sunk strong-room or cellar six feet deep, and showing signs of reconstruction at some time in its history. A second is a buttressed granary in the normal position beside the Headquarters. The third is a structure fitted with hypocausts, the exact relation of which to the other two structures is not yet clear. There were also, no doubt, barracks in wood. South of the fort towards the river stood the bath-house which was partly uncovered in 1854-5. South and south-east was a fairly extensive "civil settlement", indicated, as at Segontium, by rubbish pits, wells, clay hearths and miscellaneous finds. Some burials, partly incineration, partly inhumation, have also been noticed to the south and east of the fort.

Smaller objects are plentiful. Some seventy coins range from Claudius and Nero to about A.D. 275 and represent especially the years 70-120 or 130. Samian and other pottery abounds and many of the Samian pieces are at any rate no later than the same half-century.[39]

[39] They include a fair amount of No. 29, early types of No. 37—such as the lower of the two pieces figured in *Arch. Camb.*, 1857, p. 151, plate —and a piece of No. 78. Of these some are at Welshpool, most in the collection of Dr. Davies Rees of Rhufainfa, Caersws, and in the Caersws Museum.

Stamped tiles have also come to light. One or two may belong to Legio XX. Others, found alike in the fort and in the bath-house, are marked with one or other of the following stamps :—

(*a*) C·I·C·F (*b*) C I c F
S· P· P·

If these are military, they record some First Cohort, but no one has yet succeeded in identifying this Cohort satisfactorily.[40] Besides these historical documents, glass, leather, lead weights and all sorts of minor objects have been found at various times, especially in 1909, and the museum which is now forming at Caersws is already of first rate importance to students of Roman Wales.

We have then at Caersws a site of unusual interest. Whether Ostorius Scapula penetrated here about A.D. 50, we cannot tell. The spot is sufficiently accessible from Wroxeter and the early pottery is sufficiently abundant to make the idea not improbable. In any case, it was occupied by A.D. 75-85, and occupied in force. If we may judge by its size and its wealth of small finds, it accommodated a larger garrison and attracted a larger civil population than most of the forts which we have been considering. But, despite this civil population, it was not a city. To class it with Caerwent, as some Welsh antiquaries have done, is altogether misleading. Its later

[40] The readings are fixed by specimens found by Prof. Bosanquet, which correct the readings of previous antiquaries. Pennant, *Tour in Wales*, ii (1784), 361, plate, gives *b* fairly well : he is followed by Gough in his *Additions to Camden*, vol. iii, plate x. The *Cambrian Register*, 1796 (ii, 378), gives CICTPB as found on tiles in the south-west quarter of the fort. The *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* (1829), i, 34, has JCICI⁻AC Colt Hoare, *Gir. Camb.*, i, p. clvii, saw a tile stamped C.I.C.F. The excavations of 1854-5 yielded both *a* and *b* (*Arch. Camb.*, 1856, p. 366, and better, 1857, p. 159) but *a* was misread into C.I.C.Γ. Hübner, *C.I.L.*, vii, 1243, is not satisfactory.

history is less clear. The one plain fact is that the datable finds cease about A.D. 275. Of life at Caersws in the fourth century we have, so far, no vestige.

Many Roman roads have been thought to meet in the plain of Caersws and the evidence for them is perhaps better than for most supposed Roman roads in Mid-Wales. One road descended the valley of the Severn past Newtown—where a probable trace of it was opened in 1909—towards Caer Flos and Wroxeter. Another mounted the Carno valley, probably to Pennal. A third may have led to the lead mines six or eight miles west of Caersws. Others have been alleged to run northwards to a somewhat uncertain goal and southwards to Castle Collen (No. xi below). All need further exploration. But even our scanty knowledge illustrates the geographical importance of the spot.

(x) Caerflos.

The Severn, when it leaves Caersws, flows on for ten or eleven miles through a valley which is easy of passage but somewhat shut in by hills. Then, near Montgomery, the landscape widens to a little plain and thence two broader valleys lead on to England, the one north by Welshpool to Oswestry, the other east to Shrewsbury. In this plain, among flat meadows, close to the ancient Severn ford called Rhyd-wyman, is the fort to which antiquaries have —rightly or wrongly—given the name Caerflos.[41] The rectangular plateau of its earthen mounds, in area some six or seven acres, is plainly visible to-day and amply

[41] Brief account *Montgom. Collections*, xvii, 105; site marked on Ordnance maps but with inaccurate outline; C. H. Hartshorne *Salopia Antiqua*, has many theories but no facts about the place. His theories, apart from their total lack of evidence, suffer from being devised to suit the supposed exigencies of a month or two of fighting. It is no use to attempt the explanation of permanent forts on these lines.

justifies its claim to be a Roman fort (fig. 17). Professor Bosanquet and Mr. Edward Owen took me to see it in 1909, and none of us, I think, came away in doubt. It

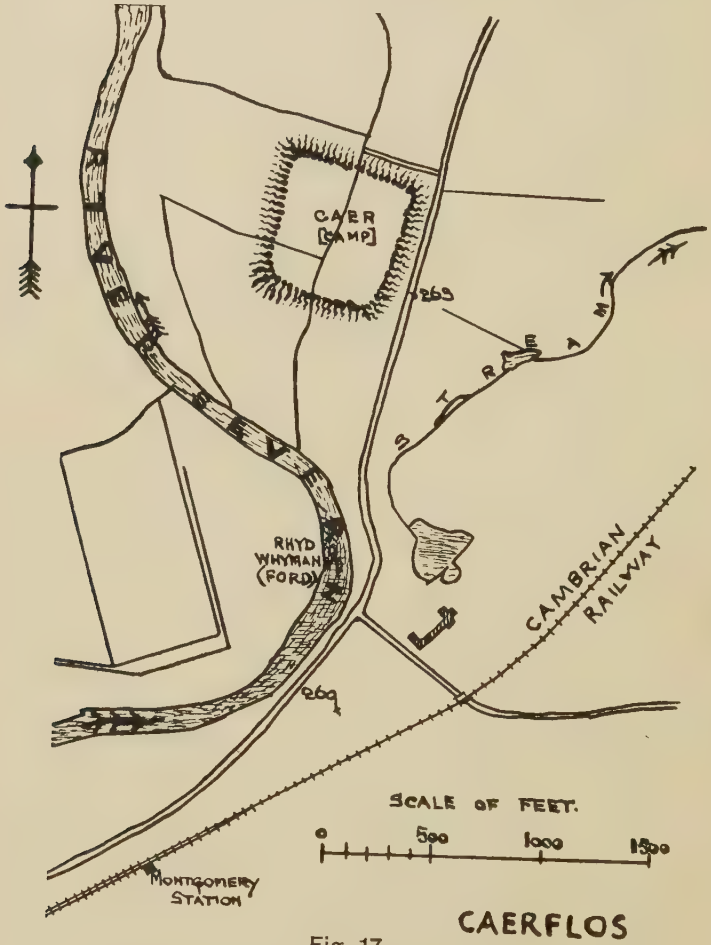
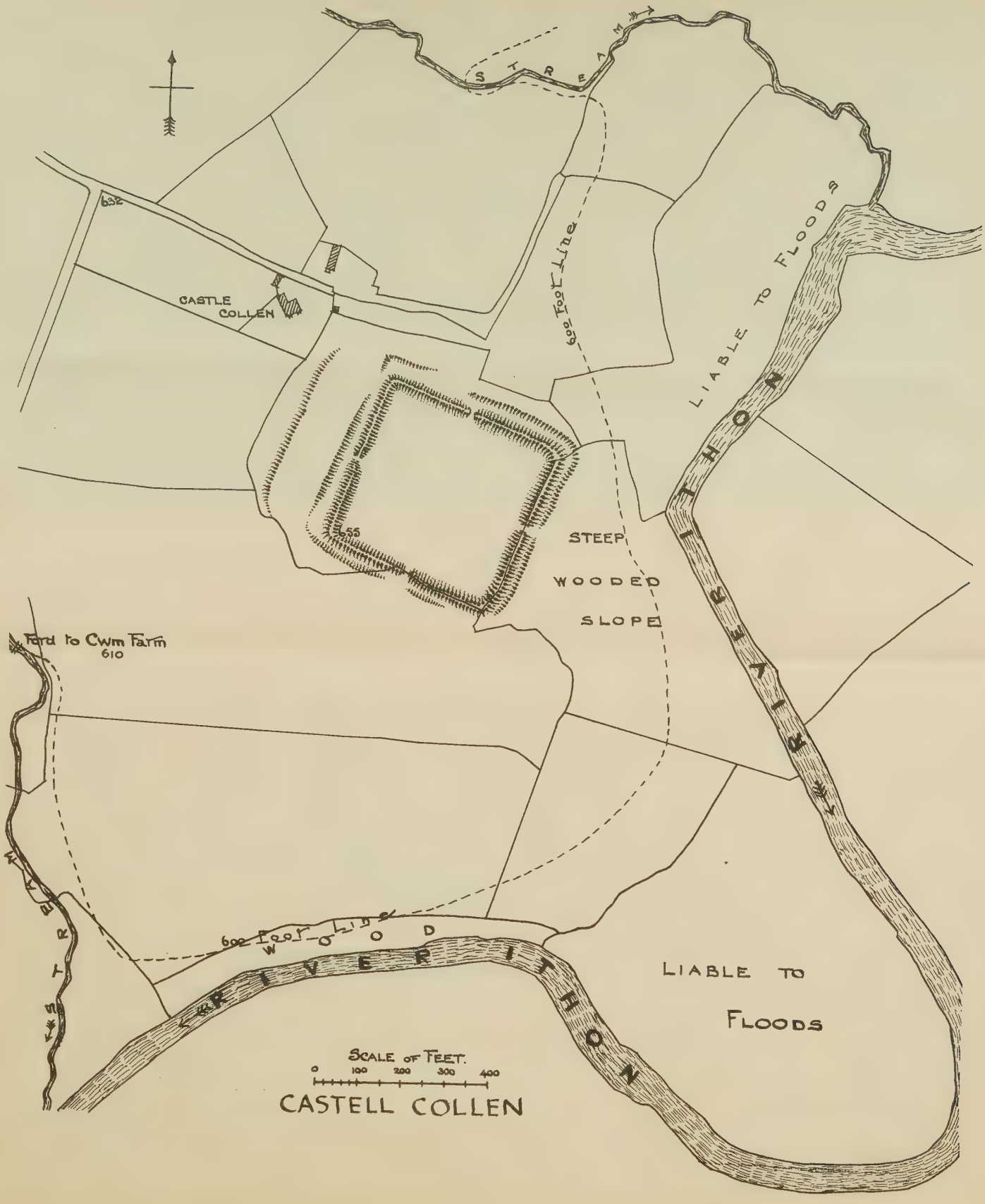


Fig. 17.

has never been excavated. The one record of discovery that I can quote is a note in the Ordnance Survey papers that a certain officer picked up Roman "ornamented


STREAM
632
CASTLE COLLEN
600 Foot Line
LIABLE TO FLOODS
RIVER THON
STEEP WOODED SLOPE
Ford to Cwm Farm 610
600 Foot Line
WOOD
LIABLE TO FLOODS
RIVER THON
SCALE OF FEET.
0 100 200 300 400
CASTELL COLLEN

pottery" on the ground. A road along the Severn seems to have connected Caersws with Caerflos, and, though the line has not yet been fully traced, this road doubtless continued to Wroxeter, distant twenty-five miles from Caerflos. As I have elsewhere pointed out, a Roman way can be traced from Wroxeter past Meole Brace and Stoney Stretton to Westbury,[42] but the route between Westbury and Caer Flos has still to be determined. Of the history of the place we are entirely ignorant. It is the first military post, so far as we know, on the route from Wroxeter into mid-Wales, and it may well have played a part in the early years of the Roman conquest.

(xi) Castell Collen.

In southern Mid-Wales the principal open space among the hills is formed by the valleys of two tributaries of the Wye which join it near Builth, the Ithon and the Irfon. It is likely that a Roman road once ran along these valleys, and one of them contains a certain, though much neglected, Roman fort. Planted in a strong position overhanging the Ithon, Castell Collen[43] looks across the water to all unconscious Llandrindod Wells, a mile away to the south. The earthen mounds which mark its ramparts, the four entrances, the depressions of its ditches are still plain to those who will go and see and are adequate to prove it a Roman fort (fig. 18). If we may judge by them, it was about four hundred feet square and contained some $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres. Earlier observers declare that its ramparts were once of stone, but they differ as to the kind of stone. According to some writers they were of earth faced with

[42] *Victoria Hist. Shropshire*, i, 271.

[43] The name was apparently invented about 1800. But it seems now locally established, and there is no obvious substitute. Cwm in Llanyre, used by one or two writers, is clumsy and also misleading, since, though Cwm is near the fort, the fort is not in Llanyre parish.

rough stone; another speaks of stone walls eight feet thick, and compares the coursed masonry of the Gaer near Brecon (no. xv). On the north-west, the weakest side, there appear to have been outworks or additional ditches. The interior is unexamined and the talk of a "praetorium" rests on no solid reasons. For smaller finds, fragments of bricks and pottery and a coin of Faustina have been noted. But we may also ascribe to this fort a centurial stone which was found in 1878 in the neighbouring church of Llanbadarn-fawr and is now preserved in its porch. It bears the letters >VALFLAVINI (with a fracture after INI)—"the century of Valerius Flavinus built (this)"—and bears its witness to the existence of a fort here.[44] The Roman roads which led to the spot are unexplored. There are signs, however, particularly near Beulah, which suggest that a road may have run south-westwards to the fort near Llandovery (No. xiv), twenty-five miles away. The tale of a bridge across the Ithon, of which the foundations were once visible, needs confirmation; certainly it has been sought in vain by recent enquirers.

(xii) Llanio.

I have already pointed out that the western parts of north and south Wales were connected by the Sarn Helen, which ran from Caerhyn and Tomen-y-mur to Cardiganshire and beyond, and that the middle section of this road and the fort at Pennal are imperfectly known. But a little south of Aberystwyth we meet an unquestionable stretch of eight or nine miles crossing from the valley of the Ystwyth to that of the Tivy. This road reaches the

[44] *Archæologia*, i, 301; iv, 5; xvii, 168. Hoare *Gir. Cambr.*, i, p. clvi. Williams *Hist. of Radnorshire*, p. 48=*Arch. Camb.*, 1856, p. 30. *Arch. Camb.*, 1870, p. 58. For the centurial stone, see Westwood *Lapid*, plate 101; Watkin *Arch. Journ.*, xxxvii, 137; *Ephem. Epigr.*, vii, 862. I have seen it myself.

Tivy about three miles south of Tregaron at Llanio-isaf, and there, near the right bank of the river on a gentle eminence in the midst of the open valley, is the site of a Roman fort. It was first detected by Edward Lhuyd or

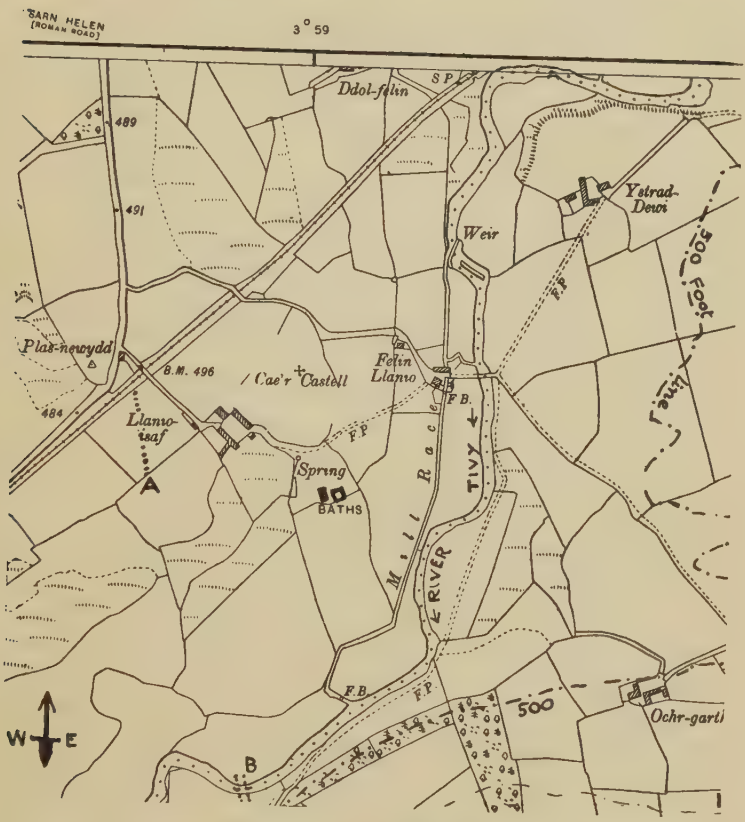


Fig. 19. SITE OF FORT, LLANIO (Adapted from the Ordnance Map; Scale, six inches to one mile.)
(+ Fort; A. Traces of old road; B. Supposed crossing.)

his friends about 1700: it has since been often noticed in print, and some little excavation was attempted in 1887. But our knowledge of it is still very incomplete.

The fort itself had vanished from the surface long before 1700, and to-day no vestige of its ramparts or ditches can be seen. It is said, however, that on the hill-top, in the field Cae'r Cestyll and near it, walls have been noted in ploughing and that in very dry summers the crops grow ill over two broad lines which cross at right angles and may be buried streets. Outside the fort one structure is visible. On lower ground to the south-east are the ruins of a bath-house, partly uncovered in 1887 and left to-day to neglect and decay. Of minor finds we have scanty record. Potsherds were found in 1865 during the construction of the railway. A carved wooden head of uncertain age, about as large as a stick-head, was found close by in a bog, and is now preserved at Llanio with some rough pottery; oyster shells and a bit of polished marble (if it be marble) complete the pitiful list. But here again the inscriptions come to our aid.[45]

[45] Lhuyd in Gibson's *Camden*, ii, 770 (citing inscriptions 3 and 5); from Gibson, Gough's *Camden*, iii, 159; Hoare, *Gir. Camb.*, i, p. clii, adding inscription 1; S. R. Meyrick, *Hist. of County of Cardigan* (London, 1810), p. x and 272, citing inscriptions 1, 3, 5; *Arch. Camb.*, 1861, p. 312; 1868, p. 450; 1873, p. 113; Westwood, *ibid.*, 1871, p. 263 (inscription 5), and *Lapid. Walliæ*, p. 141-143, adding inscription 2; Willis-Bund, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. London*, xii, 22=*Arch. Camb.*, 1888, p. 300, and *Arch Camb.*, 1889, p. 179 (inscription 4). For the wooden head, see *ibid*, 1879, p. 81; for the inscriptions, see also *C.I.L.*, vii, 148-150, *Ephem. Epigr.*, 856-860. I copied the inscriptions in 1908 with Prof. Bosanquet. The readings of previous writers, including Mr. Willis-Bund, are largely wrong, but the originals are clear and I need not go into detail. W. D. Jones, *Arch. Camb.*, 1868, p. 450, mentions "another stone inscribed *legio secunda Augusti* taken away by a gentleman named Davies some time ago": this is plainly an inaccurate recollection of No. 1, which was misinterpreted somewhat thus by Hoare. Jones also mentions "a flat brick with figures on it taken to Llanio Mill" (Felin Llanio). It may have been a regimental stamp, but we sought it in vain. Cae'r Cestyll is (I am told) properly spelt so, and not Cae'r Castell (as on the Ordnance Map). For much help in visiting the site I am indebted to the Rev. G. E. Evans.

Five inscribed stones are known, and, indeed, survive to be seen to-day. Three have been built into Llanio-isaf farm buildings (Nos. 1, 4, 5), and a fourth (No. 2) into the south side of Llan-ddewi Brefi church, a mile away; while a fifth is safe in Lampeter College Library (fig. 20).

The first, on which can be read the letters *co(hors) ii Astur(um)*, records that the second Cohort of Asturians did some work now no longer legible. The second, a mere fragment with a now unintelligible upper line,[46] apparently

Fig. 20.

contained in its lower line the words *cohors ii Ast(urum)*: half of the II and of the stroke usually put above such numerals in Roman inscriptions is still clear, while the border shews that AST was the end of the inscription. The other three stones are centurial. No. 3 mentions the century of Artus or Artius and the soldier Marcus Ennius Primus, No. 4 the same century, and No. 5 the century of Verio, *s* being probably broken off at the end. All five inscriptions indicate military activity and a fort. The

[46] Watkin's idea of *dis manibus* (*Arch. Journ.*, xxxvii, 138) is plainly wrong.

two first shew further that the garrison was the Second Cohort of Asturians.[47] This cohort was stationed in Germany in the first century, but was transferred to Britain before its close, certainly before A.D. 105. In Britain it was posted at Llanio, as these inscriptions shew; it also appears in the third century as the garrison of Aesica on Hadrian's Wall. The analogies of one or two other forts in Wales suggest that it was first at Llanio and later in the north. But further facts are needed to establish more fully, or to disprove, this hypothesis.

The Roman name of the site is not known. Lhuyd, cited by Gibson in his additions to Camden, identified it with the Luentinum (such seems the true spelling) which Ptolemy places north-east of Maridunum, in the land of the Demetae, that is, in south-west Wales. Horsley and others took up the idea and the name still figures on the Ordnance maps. But it is a pure guess: we should do well to wait for evidence. In any case, the incorrect form Loventium should be banished from books and maps which make pretence to accuracy.

From Llanio Roman roads have been alleged to run southwards in two directions. One has been supposed to descend the valley of the Tivy past Lampeter (where Colt Hoare thought he saw it)[48] and Llanybyther, where it is said to be visible to-day, and to cross the hills near Allt Wallis to the Roman site of Carmarthen—a distance of some twenty-eight miles. Such a road is likely enough. But the little search that I have been able to make both near Lampeter and between Pencader and Carmarthen leaves me in doubt whether it has been adequately

[47] First suggested by Watkin, *Arch. Journ.*, xxxvi, 165; xxxvii, 137.

[48] Compare also *Arch. Camb.*, 1856, p. 332. I have been shewn remains of a road which I believe to be those in question, and I still crave for further proof.

established, despite some confident assertions. On the other hand, there seems good evidence for a road which crossed the Tivy below Llanio (fig. 19, B) and, turning south-east at Llanfair Clydogau, struck over the mountains to Dolaucothy, where the Twrch and Cothy meet, ten or eleven miles from Llanio, and continued thence through other hills to the Towy valley at Llandovery, eight miles further on.

(xiii) Dolaucothy (?).

At Dolaucothy and Pumpsaint, in Caio parish, the curious can still see the remains of important Roman gold mines.[49] Whether a fort existed there is more doubtful. The late Mr. Johnes, of Dolaucothy, unearthed in 1831 at Ynysau-uchaf farm, near the Cothy, some remains of a building with hypocausts which might reasonably be interpreted as the military bath-house. The grass meadows immediately south of this offer a suitable site for a fort. But no fort is visible on the surface, neither have any military remains come to light here. The inscribed stone found here, P·CXXV, is not part of a broken centurial record, as might be supposed from the inaccurate versions given by Westwood and Hübner, though it doubtless records the length of some building or structure. The inscribed tiles unearthed in 1831 and sometimes ascribed to the neighbouring village of Caio, if they are those now preserved at Dolaucothy, do not seem to me to bear proper military stamps.[50] We must therefore wait for further evidence.

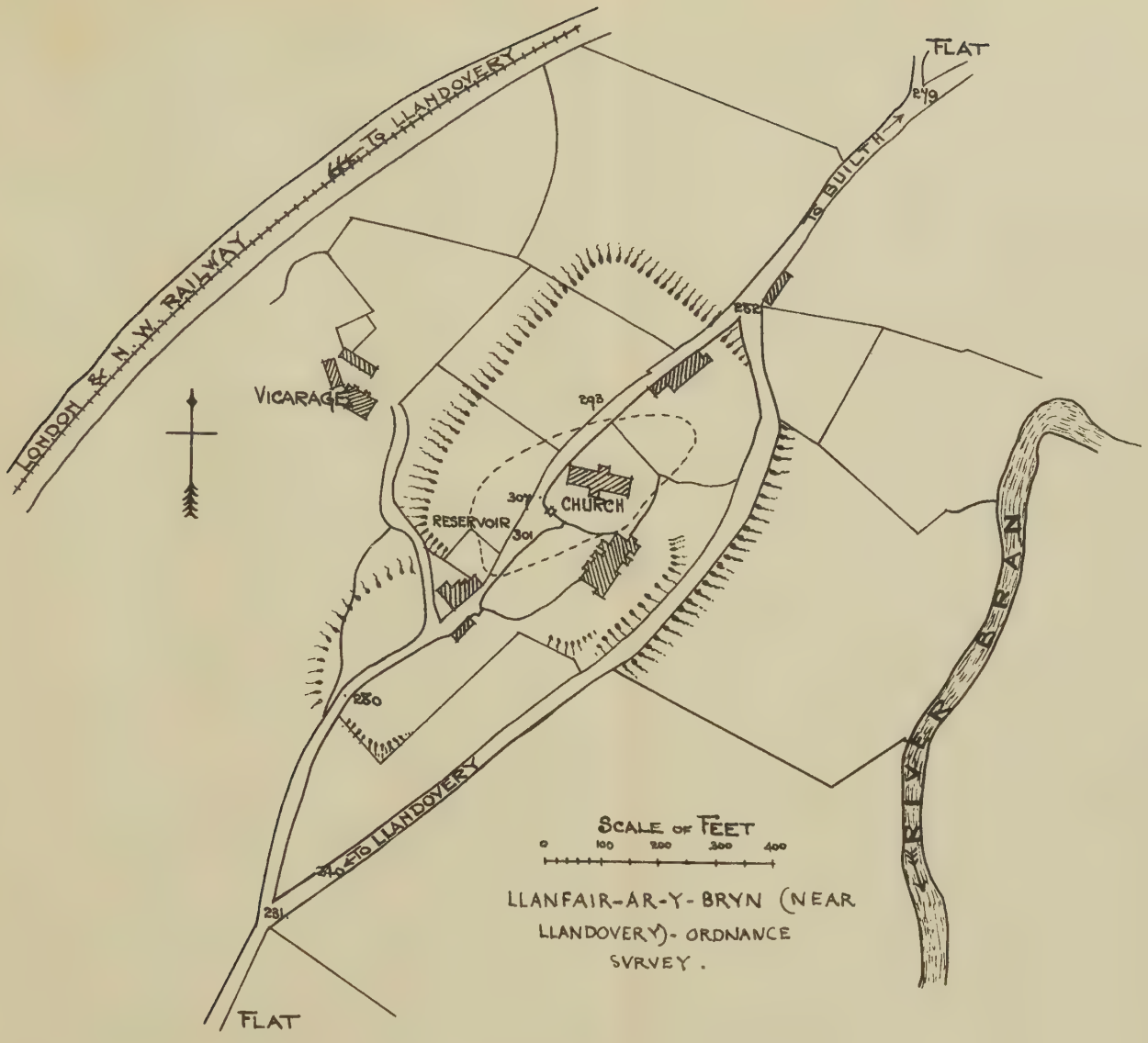
[49] See my paper in the *Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society*, v, 14 (*Welshman*, 4 June 1909). I must record gratefully the kindness shewn Professor Bosanquet and myself by General Sir James Hills-Johnes, V.C., Lady Hills-Johnes, and Mrs. Johnes, when we visited the site.

[50] For P.CXXV, see *Arch. Camb.*, 1851, p. 335; Westwood, *ibid*, 1856, 252, and *Lapid.*, p. 81; Barnwell, *ibid.*, 1871, p. 197; Hübner,

(xiv) Llandovery.

On the north outskirts of Llandovery a Roman fort has been detected at Llanfair-ar-y-bryn—not to be confused with another place of the same name four miles further northwards. The site is characteristic. Here several valleys meet, and in the midst is a gentle eminence now crowned by a church from which the ground falls sharply on almost every side (fig. 21). To-day little can be seen that recalls Rome. Faint outlines of earthworks resembling the north-west corner of a fort are visible to the west of the church, and Roman tiles can be seen in its east and north walls. Edward Lhuyd and Colt Hoare about 1700 and 1800 saw more. Lhuyd mentions "manifest signs of a place possessed by the Romans", numerous Roman bricks in the churchyard and a paved way from the church to Llanbran. Hoare saw earthworks, bricks, pottery, lamps, coins, and says that the numerous tiles had given the spot the name of Tre Coch, the red city. Much has since been obliterated by building, but a writer in 1873 reckoned the area of the fort at a rectangle of 391 by 582 feet—almost exactly five acres,—with rounded corners and a division (presumably, a road) across its centre. An eighteenth century vicar of Llandovery is said to have collected some relics, now lost—a broken altar, lamps, potsherds, coins of Constantine—and to have detected baths, while a successor in the early nineteenth century had a copper coin of Claudius, a silver coin of perhaps republican date, some Samian—one piece stamped

C.I.L., vii, 151 (in *Ephem.*, iii, n. 67 he repeats the stone, this time assigning it wrongly to Tomen-y-mur). For the tiles, see Westwood, *Lapid.*, p. 100. The *Cambrian Register* of 1818 (iii, 38), mentions "bricks with initials of Roman names", which must be distinct from those found in 1831; unfortunately, they have vanished without record of the actual stamp.



LLANFAIR-AR-Y-BRYN (NEAR LLANDOVERY)- ORDNANCE SURVEY.

DISATI . . . . probably a stamp of Disetus—and other small objects. A few remains of building have been noted outside the fort on the east side, where the ground slopes to the river Bran : here we may perhaps seek the bath-house.[51]

We have, in short, reasonable proofs of a vanished fort. But our evidence does not allow us to guess when it was built, or how long held, or what its garrison, nor does it give us valid reason for supposing that it was the Luentinum of Ptolemy. I am not even certain, after visiting the spot, that the outline of the fort was quite correctly laid down in 1873. In default of excavation, however, this outline holds the field, and I have included it in my plan (fig. 21) for the convenience of my readers.

Four Roman roads have been thought to diverge from Llandovery. One, already mentioned, runs north-west to Dolaucothy and Llanio. A second, which needs further proof and systematic investigation, is supposed to descend the broad valley of Towy to Carmarthen. A third seems to have climbed the Bran valley, at first perhaps coinciding with the modern highroad, then to have crossed the water-shed into the valley of the Irfon and passed on by Beulah to Castle Collen. A fourth, about which no reasonable doubt exists, runs south-east across the hills which overlook from the south the Gwydderig gorge and the Llandovery and Brecon road, and then, descending into the valley of the Usk at Trecastle, follows it eastward.

[51] Lhuyd in Gibson's *Camden*, ii, 751, and Bodl. MS. Ashmole, 1815, fo. 432 ; Hoare, *Gir. Camb.*, i, p. cl; W. Rees, *Arch. Camb.*, 1873, p. 125. Harris (*Archæol.*, ii, 18) mentions "silver and mixed [? billon] coin" of about A.D. 230-268, as found about 1755 near Llandovery—perhaps part of a hoard. Theophilus Jones, *History of Brecknockshire* (1805-9, reprint 1898), stands alone in denying the Roman character of the site. The Ordnance Surveyors have followed Mr. Rees's plan, though not minutely : in fig. 21 I have followed the Ordnance Survey.

Four or five miles out of Llandovery, on the lofty summit of Trecastle Mountain, this road passes the large earthworks known as Y Pigwn—a respelling of the English "beacon". These earthworks may be accepted without hesitation as Roman military works (fig. 22). But their size

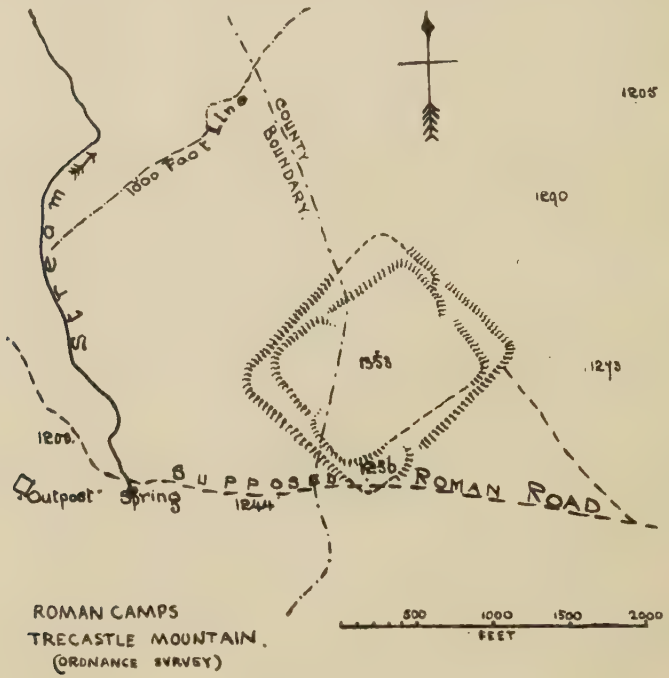


Fig. 22 (p. 62.)

—some thirty-five to forty acres; their plan of one rectangular enclosure lying unsymmetrically within another; their position on a bare hill-top, 1,250 feet above the sea and open to every storm; their shallow ramparts and the absence of any trace of stone structures within them combine to prove that we have here no permanent fort or fortress either of an auxiliary regiment or of a legion. The line of the adjacent Roman road, if it has been correctly traced across the south angle of the outer camp,

adds a slight further indication of temporary occupation. Probably these two camps represent a moment, or rather, two moments in the conquest of Wales, when it was necessary once or twice to encamp a large force on this commanding but inhospitable mountain.[52] For permanent occupation we must go further east to a very different site, deep in the valley of the Usk near Brecon.

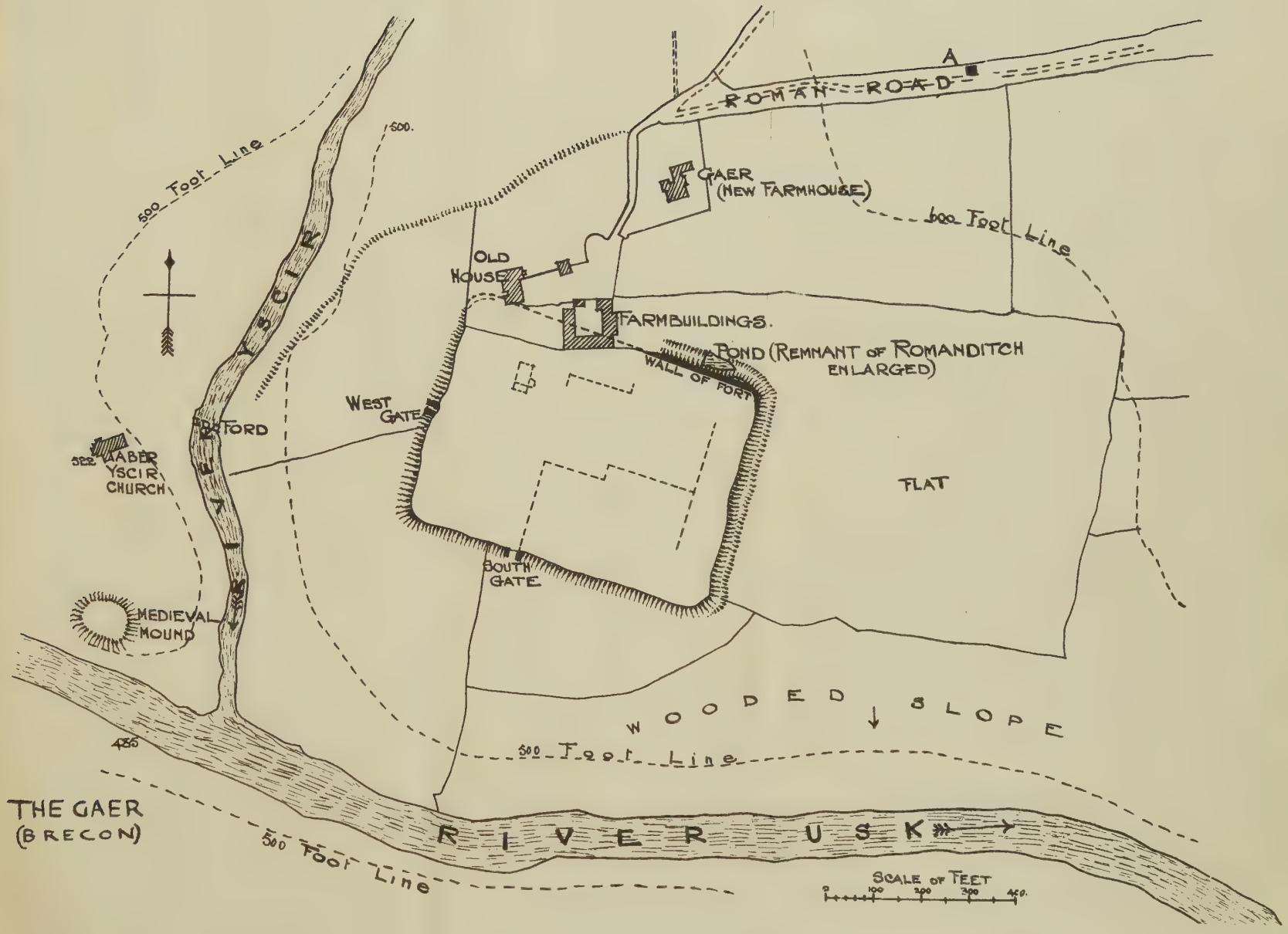
(xv-xviii) Forts on the Usk. (xv) The Gaer, near Brecon.

The Gaer near Brecon, so called in default of a briefer and better name, is probably the most famous of all the Roman forts in Wales. Even in the eleventh and twelfth centuries its ruins won it mention in charters as a *vasta civitas*, and about 1090 Bernard of Newmarch is said to have used it as a quarry for his castle in Brecon. Camden failed to hear of it. But it was well known in 1684, when Dineley described the Duke of Beaufort's 'Progress' through Wales; the eighteenth century antiquaries recognised its meaning clearly, and it has since been often noticed in print. It has not, however, been seriously excavated and the many notices do not really contribute very much to our understanding of it. The thanks of my readers are, therefore, due to the owner of the spot, Mr. J. D. D. Evans, who let me examine at leisure a large part of the pottery and other small objects found there and preserved by him at Ffrwdgrech. With this help I can carry the story of the fort a little further than has yet been done.

[52] For these camps see *Arch. Camb.*, 1854, p. 125. The six-inch Ordnance map (Brecknockshire xxv NE) makes the centre of the camps some 200 feet higher than the south corner; but this, as I learn from the Ordnance authorities, is a misprint: according to their surveyors the highest part of the camps is 1353 (not 1448) feet above sea level. That certainly fits better with my own impressions of the ground.

The Gaer lies in a secluded and delightful corner of the Usk valley, some fifteen miles east of Llandovery and some three miles west of Brecon. The site is interesting and in most respects, well chosen (fig. 23). In one point, indeed, it is open to adverse criticism. For the strategic purposes of holding the Usk valley and dominating the surrounding country, it is hardly so well placed as its medieval successor, the Castle of Brecon. But for defence it is such a site as Roman soldiers often chose. Two rivers meet here and the fort holds a high plateau between them. Its south rampart overhangs the Usk; from its west gate there is a sharp descent to a ford through the smaller stream of the Yscir. On the other two sides the natural protection is less. The ground is level on the north, and on the east it rises steadily to a hilltop half a mile away. But in the eyes of those who chose the spot this comparative weakness was, no doubt, balanced by the strength of the river fronts. Another feature of the site is the shelter given it by the surrounding hills. It is, indeed, better protected from wind and storm than most of the Roman forts in Wales, and we might almost fancy that its choice was guided by somewhat different principles from those which we can trace elsewhere.

The outline of the fort is unmistakable. It is an oblong rectangle with rounded corners, in area about 460 by 630 feet, that is a little less than seven acres. The walls, best preserved on the north-east, are built in ordinary Roman fashion of rubble faced with coursed masonry, the whole seven to nine feet thick. The courses seem to average six inches in height and the work generally resembles that visible in the forts in northern England. Two gates in the southern and western sides have been partly uncovered. In the interior many foundations of stone buildings have been encountered in draining and other chance digging,



THE GAER (BRECON)

and the parching of the turf in dry summers, such as that of 1896, has revealed lines as of walls or streets, running some parallel to and others at right angles to the ramparts, and some of these lines are inserted in the ordnance maps. When visiting the site in 1894, I was told, in particular, that in the north-west corner of the fort signs had been noted of an apse, that is, probably of a bath. Foundations containing flues, as of a hypocaust, have also been met with in the back-garden of the old farmhouse adjacent to the same quarter of the fort, but I am uncertain whether these were within or without the ramparts. It is not unlikely that the whole fort was full of stone buildings, and resembled Housesteads (fig. 2, p. 19) rather than Hardknott (fig. 1). The apse and hypocausts may belong to officers' quarters, such as have been laid bare, for example, at Chesters. Outside the fort there were doubtless the usual bath-house and small "civil settlement", but no definite relics of these have yet been discovered, though we may ascribe to them the potsherds found in 1891 when the new farm house was built a little north of the fort. The eye of a stalwart faith has also seen vestiges of an amphitheatre, but this perhaps needs proof.[53]

Smaller remains have been found in plenty. They have, in general, been ill recorded. But, through the kindness of Mr. J. D. D. Evans, I can here give a fairly full account and some illustrations of the pottery, hitherto unpublished. Samian fragments, both plain and ornamented, have been frequently picked up, and, though they are only chance specimens, they are numerous enough to serve as historical

[53] See generally Gibson's *Camden*, ii, 705; Strange, *Archæologia*, i, 293; Harris, *Ibid*, ii, 21; Hoare, *Gir. Camb.*, p. cxlix, brief; Theophilus Jones, *Hist. of Brecknockshire* (1805), reprinted 1898, p. 218; *Arch. Camb.*, 1878, p. 235; and the references in the following notes. I have also to acknowledge information from Mr. H. Watkins and Mr. G. Hay.

evidence. Most of the many examples of ornamented Samian were made, so far as I can judge, in the late first or the earliest second century. Among these are not a few instances of form 29, including two with stamps of South Gaulish potters, Methillus and Vitalis (METHIK . . and OFVITAL . .) These pieces must be earlier than about

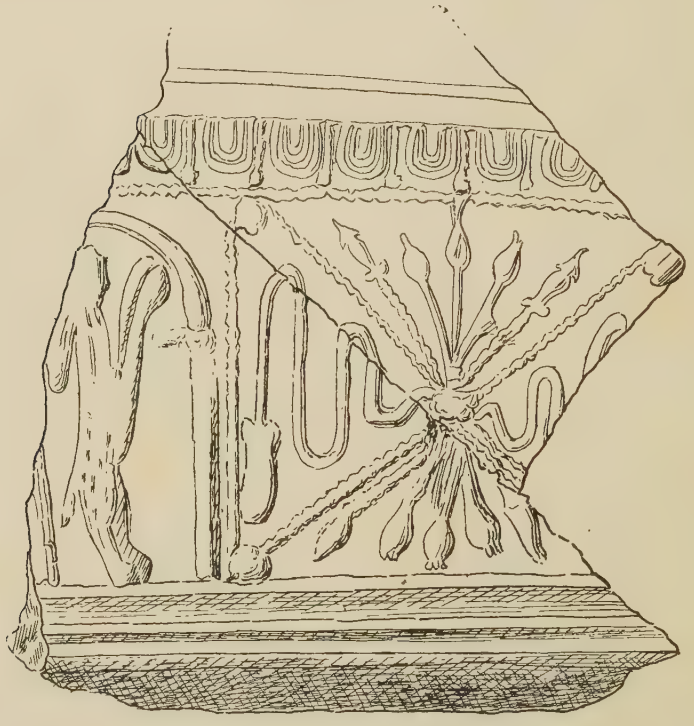


Fig. 24 Samian (Form 30) from the Gaer.

A.D. 85-90, when form 29 seems to have disappeared from use in Britain. But whether any of them can be dated as early, say, as Ostorius Scapula (*circa* A.D. 50), I should not like to determine in the present state of our knowledge. There are also a few bits of form 30 (fig. 24) and a great

many of form 37, and most of these bear early devices or otherwise agree with the potters' fashions of A.D. 70-120. Some of the common pottery, too, may belong to the same age. We have, for instance, examples of a grey ware decorated with incised bands of wavy lines of which fig. 25 gives a rough idea. This ware occurs at Gellygaer, at

Fig. 25.

Coelbren (no. xxi) and elsewhere in circumstances which suggest that it was used during the late first and early second centuries. On the other hand a Samian globular jar, found in 1898 in building the new farmhouse, may (if correctly described to me) belong to the interesting little class of "vases à reliefs d'applique" which seem to date

from just before or after A.D. 200.[54] Among other pottery I may note a Samian saucer stamped OF SEVERI and an amphora handle marked L·S·L·P, both at Ffrwdgrech.

Apart from pottery, the list of finds is brief. Many coins must have been picked up. But I can cite only eight:—two gold Neros and a silver Trajan, mentioned by the historian Jones; a plated denarius of Caracalla (not Faustina) now at Ffrwdgrech; and four worn Second Brass, apparently of the first century.[55] Other small remains are: some bits of square or round one-handled bottles of bluish-green glass, two "melon beads", and some *débris* of bronze, iron and bone objects. The small proportion of such things in comparison with the many potsherds need cause no wonder. Always and everywhere potsherds are the commonest traces of former human inhabitation. Even to-day, when metal tins have superseded earthenware for many purposes, broken crockery is ubiquitous. And such crockery as Samian is in many soils imperishable, while its red or orange colour attracts the most casual eye.

Lastly, inscriptions lend effective aid. (1) Bricks have been found in great plenty bearing the stamp LEG II AVG or, as a variety shewn me by Mr. J. D. D. Evans has it, LEG II ИG, that is *legio ii Augusta*. They prove

[54] See further in Appendix. For the stamps of Methillus and Vitalis compare Déchelette *vases ornés*, i. 81, 85, 285, 303. I was told of the globular bowl in 1898: whether and where it still exists, I do not know; it seems to be much like Déchelette ii plates 1 (fig. 72) and 3. The plain Samian at Ffrwdgrech seems to include several bits of form 27 and only one of 33, and this would go to suggest that the occupation of the fort ended about A.D. 120-140. But it may be accidental, since the duller ware 33 would be picked up less eagerly than the more graceful 27.

[55] Jones, *Hist. Br.*, p. 218. The *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* x 385, notes 3 coins—Augustus *signis receptis*, Vespasian, Valerian,—as found "near" Brecon. I have not seen all the Gaer coins in private possession.

To face p. 69.

Fig. 26. BROKEN TOMBSTONE FROM BATTLE NEAR THE GAER.

(From a negative lent by Mrs. Cleasby).

that building material for the Gaer was drawn from legionary brickyards. But they do not tell us whether the legionary brickmakers opened yards near Brecon for the purpose or sent up the bricks—maybe, by river—from the fortress of the legion at Isca Silurum, Caerleon-on-Usk. Still less do they supply definite proof that legionaries were ever stationed here as garrison.[56]

(2) A broken tombstone survives to tell us more. Ploughed up in a field called Caewaerffordd (?) near Battle, nearly a mile north of the Gaer, it is now safe at Penoyre House (fig. 26). It is half of an "ansate" slab, 22 inches tall; its text may be completed with some probability as follows, though some of the proper names (*Tancini, Claudius, Valens)* are supplied merely to show what might have been there :—

Dis M[anibus] Cand[idi, Tanci]ni fili, [eq(uitis) alae] Hisp(anorum) Vett(onum) [c(ivium) R(omanorum), Cl(audius)] Clem(ens) Dom(itius) [Valens her(edes)]. Ann(orum) xx, stip(endiorum) iii. H(ic) [s(itus) e(st)].

To the memory of Candidus, son of Tancinus, horseman in the cavalry regiment of Vettones from Spain, Roman citizens. Set up by his heirs, Claudius Clemens and Domitius Valens. He lived twenty years and served three years. He lies here.[57]

The inscription appears to date from the second half of the first century, if one may judge by its lettering and the formula HSE with which it concluded. This date fits in with other facts known to us. The "ala Hispanorum

[56] Brit. Mus. MS. Lansdowne, 825, fo. 84; Gibson's *Camden*, ii, 705; *Archæologia*, i, 292, ii, 21; Hoare *Gir. Camb.*, i, p. cxlix; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i, 254; *Arch. Camb.*, 1851, pp. 157, 247; etc. Poole (*Hist. of Br.*, p. 121) gives AUG II by obvious error.

[57] Copied by myself. I am indebted to Mrs. Mc Clintock and Mrs. Cleasby for facilities in seeing the stone and preparing the illustration. It has been published *Arch. Camb.*, 1851, p. 167, 1878, p. 235; Westwood, *Lapid*, p. 75; Watkin, *Arch. Journ.*, xxxv, 190=xxxvi, 160; *Ephem. Epigr.*, iv, no. 670. Nothing else was found with the half-slab, though the field was searched.

Vettonum" which took its name, if not all its recruits, from the Spanish tribe of Vettones, came to Britain some time in the first century and remained in the island for 200 years and more. A soldier from it, doubtless an invalid, died and was buried at Bath in the later part of this first century, and another British record of it belongs to the year 103 A.D. Presumably it was then stationed at the Gaer. Later on, at the end of the second century, we find it in the north of England at the Roman fort Vinovia (Binchester) in the county of Durham. Here, as at Llanio (p. 58), troops first stationed in Wales seem to have been removed in the second century to meet a growing need for more men in northern Britain (p. 13). The title "Roman citizens" borne by the regiment, doubtless records some signal act of bravery or loyalty, of which history preserves no proper record.

(3) Another tombstone, most interesting as a local monument, but less important for our present enquiry, may be seen to-day set up beside a grass-grown ancient lane which probably marks a Roman road, three hundred yards north-east of the fort. It was found long ago, perhaps about 1700, close to the spot where it now stands, and is known to the countryside as the Maen y Morwynion or Maidens' Stone.[58] In shape it is a stout slab, seven feet tall and at the bottom nearly three feet wide: on the upper part are the figures of a man (probably a soldier) and his wife, and below is an inscribed panel of which only the

[58] Seen by myself. Gibson's *Camden*, ii, 706, 834 from Lhuyd, with useless illustration and no lettering; Strange, *Arch.*, i, 294; Jones, *Hist. Br.*, i, 104 (reprint 1898, p. 219); Brayley and Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales, Breckn.*, p. 5; Gough's *Camden*, iii, 102, from Strange; *Arch. Camb.*, 1872, p. 385; Westwood, *Lapid.*, p. 57; *Corpus*, vii, 152. I read the last line but one AL.I.EIN..IV.... of which nothing can be made. According to Jones, a local eighteenth century antiquary read *Alancina civis et*, which means nothing.

last line has been satisfactorily deciphered. This seems to me, after several visits at different dates, to be CONIVNXEIVSHSEST : *coniunx eius; hic s(ita* or *situs) est.* The whole is a good example of a well-known type of Roman tombstone, in which the full-length figures of the dead are carved in low relief standing side by side, often half or two-thirds life size, and their names are written beneath. Several instances of this type, used (as here) by soldiers, may be seen in the Grosvenor Museum at Chester.

(4) Lastly, I have to mention a stone found (as it seems) late in the seventeenth century, never satisfactorily recorded and now wholly lost. Of its inscription we have two versions, but by an unlucky chance both are practically unintelligible, and we can deduce from them only that they both refer to the same original, that this original must have been almost unreadable when dug up, and that its first line was clearly *Dis Manibus*, in other words, it was sepulchral.[59] To these four stones there should perhaps be added two centurial stones preserved 12 miles away at Tretower, but, as their origin is doubtful, I prefer to insert them later on (p. 75).

[59] One version was copied by Thos. Dineley or Dingley in 1684 (see his *Beaufort Progress through Wales and Notitia Cambro-Britannica* (fascimile ed. R. Banks, London 1888, p. clvi) and is repeated in Brit. Mus. MS. Lansdowne 825, fo. 84, and Theoph. Jones, *Hist. of Br.*, i, p. 100 with plate). The other version is preserved in the papers of Hugh Thomas (died 1714) in Brit. Mus. MS. Harleian 3538, fo. 88, and is printed from them in *Gent. Mag.*, 1787, p. 1054. When these copies were taken, the stone was at Brecon Priory "on the left hand entering into the great west gate." According to Thomas (MS. Harl. 3538, fo. 88, and 6831, fo. 9, it was found at the Gaer in the second half of the seventeenth century; Dineley and MS. Lansdowne assert that "the monks brought it before the dissolution of the abbeys", but this tale may be disregarded. Thomas rightly noted in his MS. that the first line was *Dis manibus.* Since edited in *Corpus* vii, 153, and mentioned by Westwood *Lapid.*, p. 238.

The meaning of all this is clear. We have at the Gaer the wreck of a well-built Roman fort. We can say further that it was planted there before A.D. 85—although we cannot yet decide whether it was few or many years before that date that it was established, nor can we tell whether its stone rampart is as old as the fort or due (as is more likely) to some later reconstruction. Its garrison was at first a cavalry regiment, the *ala Vettonum*. In the second century that force was transferred to north Britain and a veil falls over the history of the Gaer. We do not know, and without systematic excavation we are never likely to know, whether another garrison occupied the empty barracks, or civilians squatted in and around them, or when the place became the wilderness that it was in the Middle Ages. Only a coin of Caracalla and a decorated Samian jar suggest that the site was still inhabited in the early third century.

Nor can we tell at present its Roman name. Antiquaries style it Bannium. But their only reason—apart from imitation of one another—is that the so-called Ravenna Geographer mentions a "Bannium" next to Isca Silurum, Caerleon-on-Usk, where the Second Legion lay. But this "Bannium" is a mere mispelling of Gobannium, the Roman name of Abergavenny (no. xvii). It ought to be swept out of our books and maps.

The Roman roads which served the Gaer are less well-known than one would suspect from the bold assertions of antiquaries about them. There is good evidence, as I have said (p. 61), for a road from the west running from Llandovery over Trecastle Mountain and along the Usk to the Gaer. There is good evidence, too, for a road from the south-west, coming from Neath by Coelbren (no. xxi), like the modern Neath and Brecon railway, and crossing a pass between the tall hills east of the Carmarthen Van

so as to descend into the Usk valley and join the Llandovery road near or a few miles above the Gaer. There was also perhaps access from the south, since the Roman road which climbed up from Cardiff to Gellygaer and Merthyr Tydfil (pp. 81 foll.) may well have continued over the watershed to the Usk; but this continuation has not yet been adequately traced. We might further expect to find a road leading south-eastwards down the Usk valley to Abergavenny. The ancient lane beside which stands the Maidens' Stone, seems the beginning of such a road, but the rest of its course remains to be determined, and the alleged fort on it at Penygaer is, as we shall see, very uncertain.[60] Lastly, it is often said that a Roman road ran northwards over the slopes of Mynydd Eppynt to Castell Collen (no. xi) by way of the west bank of the Honddu, the west edge of Crickadarn parish, the Duhanw valley and Builth (Ordnance Survey, six inch, Brecknockshire xi xv xxi), and a "Via Flandrensis" mentioned in a Harleian charter of A.D. 1241 has been connected with it. But this again, though possible enough in itself, needs support from observed facts.

Further search will, no doubt, elucidate all these roads or supposed roads. In the meantime, our present evidence suggests that the Gaer was important, not so much as a

[60] We cannot connect with this road the Roman remains found about 1775 near Llanfrynach, five miles east of the Gaer. The wholly unmilitary position and the character of the objects found here, alike shew that somewhere in the third and fourth centuries there stood near Llanfrynach not a fort but a Romano-British farm or country house. Such a place was, of course, approached by some sort of road. But many examples elsewhere shew that a Romano-British farm or country residence was not necessarily planted near a highway. Nor, I may add, had it anything to do with the military occupation, save that its occurrence proves the adjacent country to have become peaceful and in a measure civilized. For this "villa" see *Arch.*, vii, 205, and Jones, *Hist. Br.* (ed. 1898), pp. 462, 539.

strategic centre of routes, like Caersws, as because it was the key to the upper Usk and because it watched difficult hills to the north and south of the river.

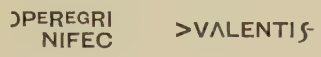
(xvi) Penygaer in Cwmdu?

Some twelve miles south-east of the Gaer, at the hamlet of Penygaer in the parish of Cwmdu, the site of a "Roman fort" was detected about 1800 by a zealous local antiquary, Theophilus Jones. It is not in the main Usk valley but near a small tributary, the Rhiangoll; the modern main road from Brecon to Abergavenny, however, passes near it, and it is not an unsuitable half-way house between the Gaer and the Roman fort at Abergavenny. Unfortunately, I have not been able to get any evidence to confirm Jones' notion. The actual position—a detached knoll in the bottom of a narrow valley close under a steep and lofty hill—is in military respects very weak, and though a visitor with imagination can trace out three sides of a rectangular area measuring some 350 by 420 feet (3½ acres), no vestiges of Roman remains can be seen to confirm its Roman character, nor do the present dwellers on the spot confess to finding anything of the kind. The discoveries alleged by Jones are equally unsatisfactory. He gives a plan and adds that "the whole scite is strewed with fragments of brick and some Roman coins have been dug up here". But his plan resembles neither a Roman camp nor Penygaer; the brick that is now visible is not ancient, and the coins have never been seen or described by anyone. Penygaer may well be an ancient hamlet. But its claim to Roman origin has yet to be established.[61]

Two pieces of evidence have, however, been detected about a mile from Penygaer, which provide unquestionable

[61] Jones, *Hist. Br.*, ii, 499 (ed. 1898, p. 416), plate xiii; Poole, *Hist. Br.*, p. 230 says "coins of the lower empire", but specifies none.

proof of a Roman fort somewhere in this region. These are two centurial stones in the hamlet of Tretower. One is in the south-east angle of the farmhouse Ty-Llys : the other is on a pier of the gateway of the vicarage, upside down.[62]



(a) *Centuria Peregrini fec(it)*; (b) *Centuria Valentis.*

The meaning of these brief texts is plain. Unfortunately, their origin is obscure. Tretower itself is not a Roman site and we must choose between two alternatives. Either there was in the near neighbourhood, not necessarily at Penygaer, a Roman fort, or the stones were brought from the Gaer or even from Abergavenny or elsewhere. Till some further discovery enlightens us, we can hardly decide between these choices.

(xvii) Abergavenny.

At Abergavenny, twenty-two miles south-east of the Gaer, the Usk joins the Gavenny and enters a more open, lowland, country. Here, in a broad valley beside a river, is a natural site for a Roman fort and evidence, scanty but sufficient, proves that a fort existed. Horsley, early in the eighteenth century, knew of bricks found on the south side of the town "about the old castle", some of which had LEG II AVG stamped on them, and also of Roman coins, including a gold Otho. He was told, further, of a Roman "balneum or sudatory, not very long before to be

[62] Copied by myself. Accounts, not all quite accurate, are in *Arch. Camb.*, 1851, p. 227 ; 1854, 332 ; *Lapid.*, p. 54 ; *Arch. Journ.*, xxxix, 369 ; *Corpus*, vii, 146, 147 ; *Ephem. Epigr.*, vii, 885. The last letter in (*b*) is doubtful ; it has been generally read F, but this has no sense, and it seems to me a long S with an accidental scratch after it. Another inscription sometimes connected with these two at Tretower, the illegible stone near Glanusk (*Arch. Camb.*, 1853, pp. 323, 332), is, I think, neither centurial nor of our period.

seen at the castle but since filled up", though of this he was not entirely satisfied. More recently an amphora neck and a stylus have been recorded from the same spot. In another part of the town, or rather in its northern outskirts, in Saunders' Nurseries, burials were noted in and before 1848, and in particular a cist of rude stones containing as grave-furniture a Samian saucer stamped IVLLIN and other pottery. A hard road running north and a hoard of silver coins are stated to have been met with near these graves.[63] To-day no Roman antiquities are to seen in Abergavenny. But the legionary tiles indicate a Roman fort for which legionary brickmakers supplied material, while the sudatory mentioned doubtfully by Horsley may perhaps have been its bath-house. It is likely enough that the Roman site was occupied and obliterated by the Norman Castle which has now, in its turn, nearly vanished.

The Roman name of the place, as Camden remarked, was Gobannium, embodying that of the river Gavenny. Of this we have plain proof beside the river-name. The Antonine Itinerary names Gobannium as a post on the road from Isca Silurum to Wroxeter (Viroconium), on which road the first stages were: Isca to Burrium (probably Usk) nine Roman miles: Burrium to Gobannium twelve miles; Gobannium to Magnae (Kenchester, near Hereford) twenty-two miles. These distances justify our placing Gobannium at Abergavenny, although the actual course of the road, except between Pontrilas and Kenchester, is not accurately known.

[63] For the tiles, etc., see Horsley, *Brit. Romana*, p. 319, from which *Arch.*, ii, 21 and v, 34, and Brayley and Britton's *Beauties of England and Wales*, xi, 91, seem taken. For the smaller objects found near the Castle see *Arch. Camb.*, 1876, p. 348; for the graves *Ibid.*, 1848, pp. 172, 190, and 1876, p. 348, and *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, iv, 313.

(xviii) Usk.

Between Abergavenny and the legionary fortress of Caerleon one spot only has yielded traces of definite military occupation. At Usk a meeting of valleys offers a natural site for a Roman fort, and at Usk much that is Roman has been found. Camden thought the place Roman, though he seems to have heard of no specific remains. Horsley also calls it Roman and, though his principal reason, "the shape of the town lying in squares", is of course worthless, he is able also to adduce coin-finds. But the chief discoveries have been made much more recently: in 1842 when a jail was erected on the south side of the town in a field called Cae Puta, in 1876 when a Court House was built next the jail, and in 1876-8 when Mr. A. D. Berrington excavated close by. The results are in part ill-recorded and in part inconclusive. But a few stone foundations—some deeper and older than others—, much charred wood as of huts, and some roads, drains and gutters, indicate permanent inhabitation of some sort. A tile stamped LEG II (the rest broken off), found in 1877, and an inscription mentioning the same legion, found in 1876, indicate a military station. Much Samian and other pottery, including examples of form 29, indicate that the occupation began in the first century, and similar testimony is borne by coins, of which 1 Augustus, 2 Vespasian, 1 Domitian, 2 Trajan, and 2 Gallienus are alone specifically recorded.[64]

Plainly we have at Usk a military site worth more attention than it has yet gained from antiquaries, occupied by

[64] Horsley, *Brit. Romana*, pp. 320, 465; Coxe, *Monmouthshire*, p. 124; Brayley, *Beauties of England*, Monm., p. 144; *Arch. Camb.*, 1848, p. 188; Watkin, *Arch. Journ.*, xxxv, 19-37, 65, describing fully the finds of 1876-8; H. Clark, *Usk Past and Present*, p. 11. The inscribed stone —for which see also Westwood, *Lapid.*, p. 234, and *Ephem. Epigr.*, iv, 671, the latter from Watkin—and some of the pottery are now at

A.D. 80 and possibly a good deal earlier, and inhabited at first by troops (p. 11, note), and by some sort of population for a long time. But no more detailed conjectures about it can possess much value till the objects found in 1842 and 1876-8 have been examined more thoroughly and the site has been further tested by the spade.

The Roman name of the place was probably Burrium, which (as I have said) the "Itinerary" places between Isca (Caerleon) and Gobannium. With Usk we thus reach the last of the military posts along the river, except the legionary fortress of Caerleon. This legionary fortress will be most conveniently considered, so far as it comes within our scope at all, along with its twin fortress Chester, when we have reviewed the whole of the lesser Roman sites of Wales.

From Usk therefore we turn to the forts on the hills between the Usk valley and the coast.

(xix-xxi) Forts on the Glamorgan Hills.

(xix) Gellygaer.

The great hills which rise steeply from the upper valley of the Usk and sink gradually down to the Glamorgan coast may be divided into three parts. On the north lies the main range, with the tall summits of the Beacons casting their dark shadows over the Vale of Brecon. On the south-east, seven long parallel ridges, sundered from each other by deep valleys, jut out southwards from this range like the fingers from a hand. On the south and south-west, less uniform masses of hill slope down to the coastal plain. Three Roman forts are known in

Caerleon; in 1896 some of the pottery was at the Court House at Usk; where the rest is, I do not know. I have examined the stone several times and fear that it has been in part tampered with. Watkin gives various potters' stamps from Mr. Berrington's diggings, but his readings need to be revised with the originals.

this upland region, all of them planted to the south of the watershed and of the passes which traverse it. Gellygaer crowns the end of a long projecting ridge; Penydarren and Coelbren occupy points on the southern slopes of the main range. The purpose of these forts may be described in two ways; they may be explained either as guarding the hill-roads from the Usk to the sea or as controlling the hill-tribes. But the two phrases come to much the same thing, for the roads were doubtless laid out quite as much to pacify the mountaineers as to connect the Usk valley with the coast. Here, as elsewhere in Wales, pacification came quickly. We shall find that all three forts were apparently abandoned in, if not before, the second century. We may use of them the language of a sixteenth century antiquary, Rice Merrick, writing in 1578 about the medieval strongholds of the Normans in these uplands,

> As the castles in the mountaines were builded and maintained by the Lords of Glamorgan, to their great charges, to the end they might bridle the suddaine tumultes of the Welshmen; Soe in time, perceiving that they were stablished, they withdrew their garrisons and suffered them to decay." (*Morganiae Archaiologia* ed. Corbett, 1887, p. 106.)

The church and village of Gellygaer stand 13 miles north of Cardiff at the point where the ridge of Cefn Gellygaer begins to give way to lower ground. The site of the Roman fort adjoins and overlooks the church. It stands high, nearly 800 feet above sea-level, and the hill-top is bare and bleak. But its prospect is wide except to the north; it is well watered, and the ground falls away from it on three sides—eastwards and southwards with sharp descent to the Rhymney river 400 feet below, and westwards more gradually to the vale of Taff. It has long been known to the dwellers round it; from it come the names of the large parish of Gellygaer and of the two fields which contain the fort and its "suburbs", Gaer Vawr and Gaer

Fach. But no antiquary seems to have noted it till about 1810 and its real fame dates from the last dozen years. In 1899-1901 the Cardiff Naturalists' Society—Mr. C. H. James, Mr. J. W. Rodger, Mr. J. Ward and others—with the vicar of the parish, the Rev. T. J. Jones, uncovered the entire fort; in 1908-9 they began work on a bath-house immediately south-east of it. The results have been very valuable.[65] The ground-plan of the fort has been recovered intact and intelligible, unspoilt by buildings of modern men, free from those ancient reconstructions which perplex the interpretation of many Roman remains, and additionally valuable since within limits it can be dated. Gellygaer is, indeed, of primary importance for the history alike of Roman Wales and of the Roman army. It is a matter of real archæological importance that its excavation should be completed by the exploration of the area outside the fort.

In size and shape the fort was nearly square, measuring from the inner faces of the ramparts about 346 by 386 feet, that is, not quite 3 acres in internal area, and just over $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres including ramparts and ditch (fig. 27). It was fortified by a wall 19-20 feet thick, constructed of earth but faced on both sides with coursed masonry. Four gates, one in the middle of each front, gave entrance (fig. 28), and 12 turrets, let into the thickness of the ramparts at symmetrical points, strengthened the defences. Outside the ramparts were a berm of 5 feet and a ditch some 19 feet broad.

[65] Carlisle, *Topogr. Dict. of Wales* (1811); J. Ward, *Roman Fort of Gellygaer* (London, 1903, also issued as *Transact. Cardiff Naturalists' Society* vol. xxxv). The Ordnance Survey issued in 1901 a plan of the fort on the scale of 1,500, but it is not wholly accurate. A Report on the work of 1908-9 by Mr. Ward is in the press. For much help and information I am indebted to the four archæologists named in the text. I have also visited the site several times since 1899.

To face p. 80.

Fig. 28. GELLYGAER, NORTH GUARD CHAMBER OF NORTH-EAST GATE, SEEN FROM INSIDE THE FORT.
(Gateway in foreground to right; Vicarage in background.)

The interior was almost wholly filled with stone buildings, in the manner of Housesteads rather than of Hardknott (figs. 1, 2). The foundations of these buildings could be traced throughout, and it is noteworthy that no definite

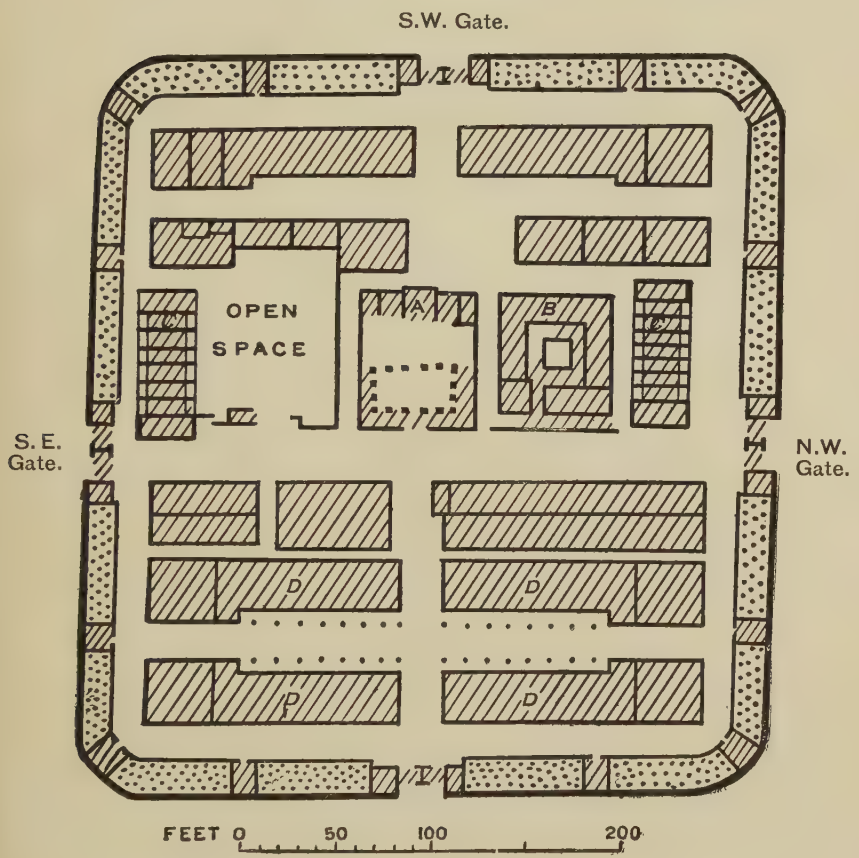


Fig. 27 (p. 80). PLAN OF GELLYGAER.

(Adapted from Mr. Ward's plan).

signs of reconstruction were anywhere observed. They fall into two parts. First, a row of important edifices (A,B,C,C) stretched across the middle of the fort from the north-west

to the south-east gate. In the centre of this row and of the whole fort stood the Headquarters or Principia—often called the Praetorium—69 by 80 feet in extent (fig. 29). It contained the usual features, but, unlike the fort

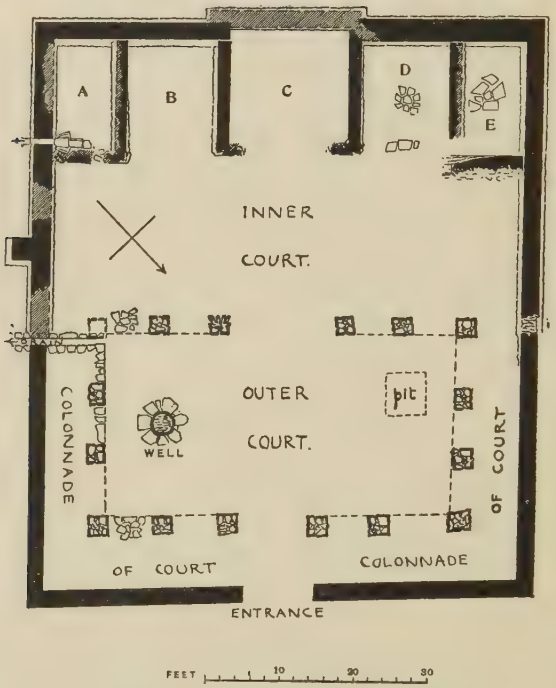


Fig. 29. GELLYGAER, PRINCIPIA.

generally, was more akin to Hardknott than to Housesteads. First came an open colonnaded court; then, divided from it by an arcade, a second or inner open court[66] and, opening on to that, the usual "five rooms" (A-E on fig. 29). Of

[66] Mr. Ward, *Gellygaer*, p. 55, suggests that the second court was not open but a roofed Hall. He argues that the buttress at its south end and the greater thickness of the wall round it and the "five rooms" were intended to support a roof. I must confess that the Gellygaer foundations do not seem to me adequate to the roofage

these rooms the middle and largest was no doubt the shrine or *sacellum*. D shewed signs of a stone hearth and the floor of A and B and E contained traces of charcoal and burnt earth; these four rooms apparently were used for clerks' offices or the like and could be heated at need in some rude fashion. A, like the corresponding room at Housesteads, was fitted with drain and sink, possibly in some connexion with the worship of the *sacellum*. Lastly, it may be noted that the plotting of the whole *principia* reveals that neglect of the strict right-angle which is so common in Roman military work.

Next to the Headquarters on the north stood a nearly square building, 64 by 74 feet in size (fig. 27 B). Its rooms faced inwards on to a tiny central yard, a little in the manner of an Italian house; as its débris shewed, it had a tiled roof, glazed windows and a drain to carry off water. It is usually explained as the official lodging of the commandant. But the lack of hypocaust or other permanent heating is somewhat strange in a residence and the theory has been advanced that it contained the *fabrica* or workshop of the fort. Similar buildings, similarly planned and placed and similarly chilly, occur in other forts—in Housesteads (fig. 2, ix, xii), in Lyne in Scotland, in Wiesbaden—and in the legionary fortress of Carnuntum on the Danube.[67] The Housesteads remains tell us nothing very definite, but at Wiesbaden there was a watertank in the middle of the building and at Lyne a stone-lined pit in

of a Hall, and, as I have said in note 7, the evidence of other Headquarters is against his view. There are, of course, Principia with only one court, which is surrounded by a colonnade, as at Wiesbaden and Theilenhofen in Germany. But the "second court" at Gellygaer is 22 feet wide and no mere colonnade.

[67] *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxxv, 180; Ritterling, *Kastell Wiesbaden*, p. 35; *Röm. Limes in Oesterreich*, vii, 47-70.

the same position which may well have held water. Such details suit ill a dwelling. On the other hand, no structure save this can be suggested for the commandant's house at Gellygaer, while a *Fabrica* might be found in the three-roomed block close by which so nearly resembles the three-roomed block at Housesteads where Mr. Bosanquet found much iron slag.[68] For a final decision of the matter we must wait till more forts have been uncovered and planned.

Beyond, that is, north of this puzzling structure stood a rather small buttressed granary or storehouse (fig. 27 C) built in the usual fashion of Roman military storehouses, with the floor raised above the damp on low sleeper walls which ensured a dry, ventilated basement. Another similar granary stood in a corresponding position on the north side of the Headquarters (figs. 27 C and 30). This was the only building on this side of the Principia; the rest of the space here was taken up by an open area of uncertain use.

East and west of this important range of buildings, the two ends of the fort, the so-called Praetentura and Retentura, were filled by long narrow blocks, once perhaps partitioned by woodwork. Six of these blocks were roughly L-shaped and of the six four were found to be fitted with verandahs of which the wooden posts were traceable (fig. 27 DD and fig. 42); similar blocks occur in other forts and fortresses and may confidently be identified as barracks. The other blocks were more varied in shape and size, and served various purposes which we cannot now define, perhaps additional barrack room, additional storeroom—for instance, for wood, which takes up much space—, hospital, and the like. Some might well be stables—in particular, the double blocks between the

[68] No. iv in fig. 2; see *Arch. Ael.*, xxv, 241.

Fig. 30. GELLYGAER, NORTHERN GRANARY.

To face p. 84.

verandah-buildings DD and the street from the north-west to the south-east gate—though none of them seem furnished with drains. At the end of the longer double block, opposite the Principia, was a large water tank. The kitchens were probably, in part at least, in the ground-floors of the turrets.

Of the buildings without the fort less can as yet be said. The bath-house, 80 feet from the south turret and a trifle lower down the hill, is the only structure hitherto uncovered outside the ramparts. It was of largish size and in its final form measured nearly 140 feet in extreme breadth and length. But its history is not yet wholly clear. It was certainly much altered after its first erection. In particular, there is reason to think that the original builders miscalculated the waterlevel of the spot and that a complete reconstruction soon became necessary on a higher level. Probably there were other alterations; indeed, at the end of 1909 the excavators spoke of four "periods", though it is perhaps too soon to feel confident of these. Besides the bath-house, signs of other buildings have been noted or suspected, both on the south and on the north of the fort, while on the south there is a faint appearance as of a rampart enclosing the bath-house and other buildings in a roughly fortified annexe. A Samian potsherd stamped OF SILVI*ni*, picked up in the vicarage garden in 1901, may be a waif from some building on the north.

From the structures we pass to the smaller objects. These, as on all excavated sites, are fairly plentiful. The decorated Samian—one piece of Form 30 and many of 37—seems to belong generally to the late first or perhaps rather to the earliest second century; Form 29, which (as I have said above) went out of use after A.D. 85, seems absent from this site. The coarser wares include specimens of the undulating ornament which apparently belongs to much

the same period (p. 67, fig. 25).[69] The coin list is briefer. The interior of the fort has yielded two Republican silver coins of about B.C. 90-100, two silver of Vespasian, one silver and one "first brass" of Domitian and one "first brass" of Nerva. From the bath-house we have, beside two or three illegible, two or perhaps three copper Domitian, a silver and a copper of Trajan, and a "first brass" of Hadrian (*cos. iii, moneta Augus* . ., Cohen 973). This last is the latest datable object yet recorded from Gellygaer; it was minted between A.D. 119 and 138 and its condition shews that it was nearly new when lost. Among other small objects are fragments of glass, some from a bowl with external pillar moulding, some from a white glass cup cut externally in small oval facets. Both these pieces might belong to the late first or the earlier half of the second century.

Some fragmentary inscriptions claim serious attention:—

(1) Right-hand half of a thin slab, 22 inches broad and high, found in 1909 in the deposit filling the ditch of the fort near the south-east gate. Most of the text can be easily restored; the end is quite uncertain. The words are divided on the stone by leaf-stops, here omitted:

imp. *ca* ES DIVI
Ner. f. n ER TRAIANO
aug. *ge* RM DAC PoN̄
max. *t* RIB P P PCoSV̄
. . . .T̄

"To the emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus (i.e. Trajan), son of the divine Nerva, Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, Pontifex maximus, holding the tribunician power, father of his country, consul for the fifth time . . . . ."

[69] I have seen much of the pottery found in the bath-house. For the pieces from the fort I depend on Mr. Ward's illustrations, *Gellygaer* plates x-xiii; the originals, I understand, are packed away till proper museum space can be found at Cardiff.

To face p. 87.

Fig. 31. GELLYGAER, SMALLER INSCRIBED FRAGMENT, PROBABLY MENTIONING TRAJAN.

This is one of a well-known class of inscriptions which commemorated building or re-building; it probably stood originally over the south-east gate and was put up when that gate, and doubtless much else in the fort, was built or rebuilt. Its date lies between Jan. 103 when Trajan became fifth time consul and Jan. 112 when he entered on his sixth consulate. The numeral in line five, which seems part of some larger number, II or III or VI or the like, is perhaps a fragment of the title of the regiment which did the work in question. We might, for instance, guess that the inscription closed with two short lines of which only the end of the first survives

LEG II
AVG F

and suppose that men of the Second Legion from Isca were used, as legionaries often were, in the building or repair of an auxiliary fort. Or the soldiers engaged may have been auxiliaries and the numeral may refer to the number of the regiment.

(2) Similar but smaller fragment, from a slab lettered and inscribed similarly to No. 1, found in the filling of the ditch near it (fig. 31). The formula of the inscription is plainly the same; the first line gives us the *Germ(anicus)* of the third line of No. 1 and the second line repeats the fourth of the other. The reading of line three is not certain. The letters may be PAV or PMI or possibly PAN, which latter would suggest a *cohors Pannoniorum* or *Hispanorum*; till more of the stone is found, guessing is dangerous. The inscription may have been set over the other face of the south-east gate to No. 1, or, being a small piece, may have drifted hither from some other part of the fort.

I have copied both these fragments. I am indebted to Mr. Ward and Mr. Clarke for facilities.

(3) Centurial stone, copied about 1822 by John Jenkins, Baptist minister in the district, and recorded in his diary; the diary was shewn me by the Rev. T. J. Jones.

>DEMIO

The centurial mark is plain; the officer's name has been miscopied. Other inscribed fragments have also come to light, but as they are simply *graffiti* on stone or tile or pot and are all, as they stand, unintelligible, I omit them here.

We have now to sum up. Gellygaer was clearly an ordinary auxiliary fort, like any other in Wales, but the abundant evidence lets us draw further conclusions about its structure, date and garrison. In structural character it comes between Hardknott and Housesteads. It has the probably early Principia of the one and the crowded stone buildings of the other. Its ramparts, too, seem to embody a middle stage in a transition—that from the earthwork of the earlier Roman forts to the later stone walls. This change took many years to complete itself; it began in the later part of the first century and lasted till the later part of the second century. We shall not deduce from it a date for Gellygaer. Rather, we shall use these features of Gellygaer to illustrate the process of the development, seeing in them one of those experiments in rampart-making which must necessarily have been made in the course of the long transition. It is, we might say, an improvement on the early earthen rampart of Remagen, which had on each side a facing of wood.

For the date of the fort we have other evidence. Some of this evidence is negative and may be upset by future finds, but Gellygaer has been sufficiently examined to make this danger comparatively small. The evidence is fourfold. The lack of Samian of Form 29 suggests that the fort was not built before about A.D. 85. The presence of other more or less early Samian suggests that it was built not

very long after that date. The Trajanic inscriptions imply that it was either built or rebuilt about A.D. 105-110. The lack of marks of rebuilding implies that it was then built rather than rebuilt. The four probabilities agree in favour of the view that it was founded about A.D. 105-110. This is later by at least 20 or 25 years than most of the datable forts discussed in this essay. But we shall see, when we reach the next fort on our list, Penydarren near Merthyr, that a reason can be conjectured to explain this lateness (p. 96). We have some evidence also for the length of the occupation. The latest datable object yet found on the spot is no later than A.D. 138 and may be no later than A.D. 120 and among the objects not precisely datable none seems likely to be much later. The fort seems therefore to have had a short life. Hadrian, it may be, or Pius moved the garrison from the Welsh hilltop to some point of danger in the north. Whether the site thereafter lay wholly empty, or men who were not soldiers dwelt on some part of it, are questions which only further excavation can answer. The numerous changes in the bath-house, if really as numerous as has been thought, might seem to claim a long period of occupation. But our present evidence ends with the reign of Hadrian.

The garrison of the fort is unknown. Possibly we may one day recover its name from some inscribed fragment. Meanwhile we can learn something from the character of the fort-buildings. We know from other Roman forts in Britain that the unit of barrack-buildings in such forts was a block about 140-150 feet long and about 27-30 feet wide, and that, where the garrison was, to quote the commonest case, an infantry cohort, each unit housed a century and its centurion, 80-100 men. Thus at Housesteads, to which inscriptions assign a *cohors miliaria* of ten centuries, we can distinguish ten such blocks, each 30 by

150 feet (fig. 2). At Gellygaer, as stated above (p. 84), we see six such blocks, slightly smaller than those of Housesteads but of appropriate size. We can infer that the garrison of Gellygaer was a *cohors quingenaria*, which was divided into six centuries. A further question arises whether this cohort was *equitata*, that is whether it included both foot and horsemen, in the proportion of 380 foot and 120 horsemen.[70] The long double blocks which front the street connecting the south-east and the north-west gates might, as I have said, serve for stables. So far as we know, they had no drains. But they are perhaps not too small to take the required number of horses—that is, the 120 or 130 mounts for the horsemen, the officers' horses and the pack-animals.

Lastly, the Roman roads of Gellygaer. These are few. The steep mountain slopes to east and west make routes improbable in either of these directions, and in fact we have definite evidence only for a road which seems to climb the south end of the Gellygaer ridge, pass the fort and run northwards under the name of Heol Adam along Cefn Gellygaer and the Fochrhiw mountain towards the east extremity of Dowlais (p. 96). Presumably this road started from the Roman fort at Cardiff and ran north past Morgraig and Caerphilly—both of them noteworthy medieval sites with no claim to Roman remains—to Gellygaer, but its exact course needs further search.

(xx) Penydarren, Merthyr Tydfil.

Eight or nine miles north, or more exactly north-north-west, of Gellygaer church and Roman fort are the two modern industrial towns of Dowlais and Merthyr, the former

[70] This is the view of Fabricius, *Röm. germ. Korrespondenz-blatt*, 1908, p. 34. According to expert information supplied to Mr. Curle in respect of Newstead, the longer double block at Gellygaer would have held 120 horses in four rows. But it must have been a close fit.

high on the mountain, the other 500 feet below in the valley of the Taff. On the long slope between them, 150 feet

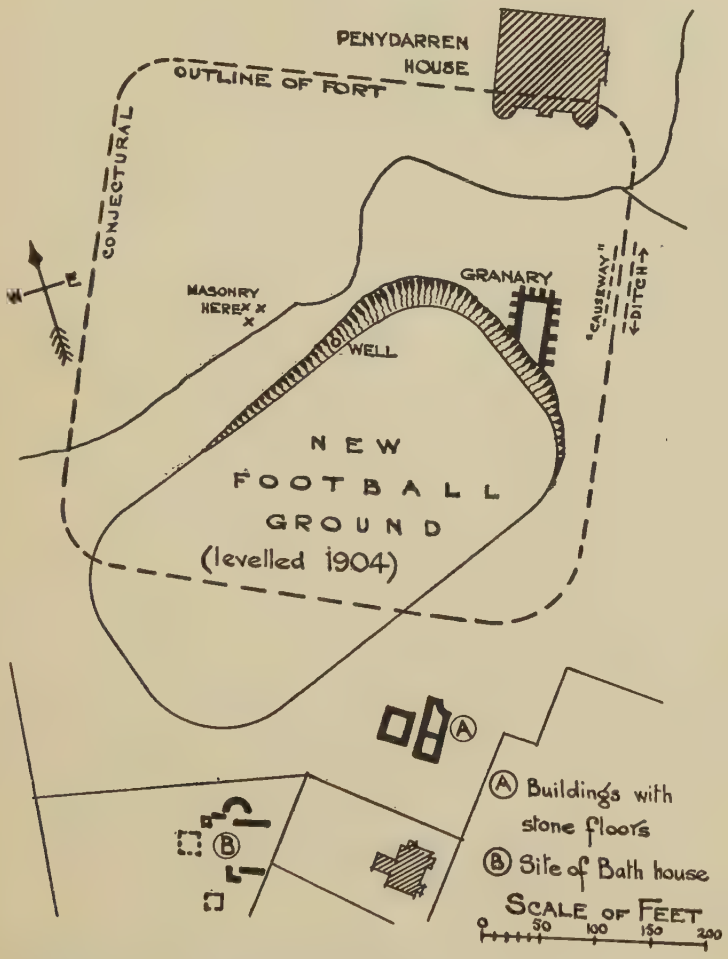


Fig. 32 (p. 92). PLAN OF REMAINS AT PENYDARREN WITH CONJECTURAL OUTLINE OF FORT.

above the lower town, is an outstanding spur of hill on which are Penydarren House and Park. Here, 700 feet above

sea level, in a strong position from which the ground falls steeply east and west, was a Roman fort. Its remains were first noted when Penydarren House was built, about 1786. As Wilkins, the historian of Merthyr records, the workmen then "found a great many Roman bricks and some tessellated pavement". The finds were taken to indicate a Roman "villa", but they attracted little attention and were ill-recorded. Our real knowledge of the site is due to the observations and excavations made by Mr. F. T. James of Penydarren House, in 1902-4. In 1904, in particular, the construction of a large football ground in Penydarren Park caused extensive levelling and removal of soil, and remains came to light which seem to prove that a Roman fort once stood here.[71]

The size and shape of this fort are unknown. No vestige of its ditch or rampart remain visible on the surface and only a tiny piece of the ditch has been found by digging. But the discoveries of 1904 may help us to form some not improbable theories (fig. 32). These discoveries include first, a ditch and, parallel to it, a "paved causeway", both running north and south; secondly, at about 50 feet west of the causeway, the well-preserved foundations of a buttressed building 30 feet in interior width and at least 60 feet long, with so many iron nails lying between its sleeper walls that it seems to have had a wooden floor (figs. 33, 34); thirdly, 150 feet west of the granary, an excellently-steined well which contained Roman débris and is doubtless Roman work; and lastly, yet a little

[71] Chas. Wilkins, *Hist. of Merthyr Tydfil* (Merthyr 1867), p. 2.; F. T. James, *Arch. Cambrensis*, 1906, pp. 194–208. The smaller objects found in 1902-4 are now in the Merthyr Town Museum at Cyfarthfa Castle: I have been able to examine them. I am indebted to Mr. James for much kindness and help in my visits to the site and for much information concerning it.

To face p 93.

Fig. 34. PENYDARREN FORT, GRANARY SEEN FROM ITS SOUTH-EAST CORNER.
(To the left, bank cut away for football ground; in background, Penydarren House.)

further west, some ruined masonry. The buttressed building tells its own tale. It is one of the military granaries which occur in every fort but very seldom elsewhere. The natural position of such a granary is in the range of main buildings which stretches across the middle of a fort and which includes also the Principia and "commandant's lodging" (fig. 27, A B C). We may reasonably conjecture that the discoveries of 1904 at Penydarren revealed traces of this range. The ditch on the east is

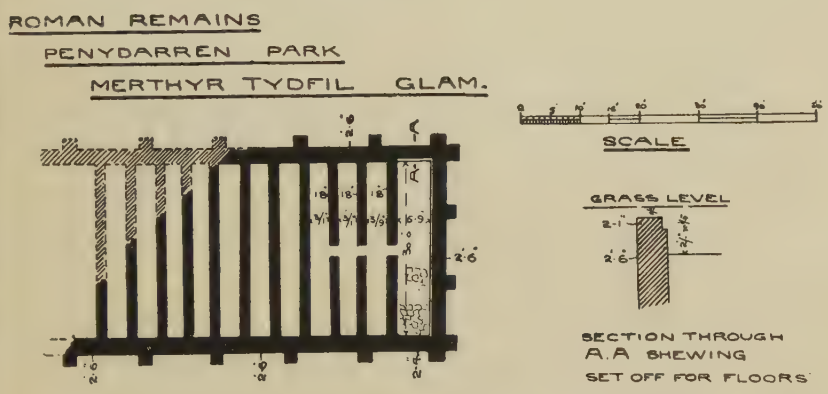


Fig. 33 (p. 92). GRANARY, PENYDARREN FORT.

presumably the ditch of the fort. The "paved causeway" next to it, the nature of which was apparently not quite clear to the excavators, may be a rough stone base for an earthen rampart or perhaps débris from stonework. The granary comes in a proper place immediately inside the rampart. A little further on is the well of the Principia. If it be asked why the walls of the Principia were not also found, I may reply that the masonry of the site has plainly been seriously robbed in former times and that much may have been missed by contractors excavating for a football field. I am told, indeed, that walls were encountered by

the contractors which were never planned. There were other buildings, it seems, beyond the Principia, and among them may well have been a second granary, but the excavation did not extend far enough to reveal it.

The well of the Principia (if I am right in thus identifying it) must have been close to the centre of the fort. We can therefore calculate the width of the fort approximately at 400-450 feet, and we shall conclude that the Penydarren fort was apparently a little larger than the fort of Gellygaer. This fits with the fact that its granary is both broader and longer than either of the Gellygaer examples. On fig. 32 I have outlined an area such as the fort may have occupied, if it was approximately square like Gellygaer or Caersws. This area, is, of course, conjectural: in particular, its extent to the north and south may easily have been greater or less. But the conjecture will help students to understand what was probably the general character of the site in Roman times. It will be noted that the north-east angle of the fort must have been close to, and may indeed have included, the site of Penydarren House, where Roman remains were found in 1786.

Further to the south, outside the probable area of the fort and rather lower down the slope, Mr. James uncovered the foundations of other buildings. They lay in two patches. One, about 100 yards from the granary, consisted of three rooms paved with tile and stone, of uncertain use (A on plan). In the other, somewhat further off (B), were three hypocausts, flues, an apse, roof and box tiles, a furnace with charcoal, tufa voussoirs for arches and other remains suitable to a bath-house, the whole covering an area of nearly 80 by 100 feet. The masonry of the walls had been robbed in earlier times and the exact connection of the various rooms is obscure. But

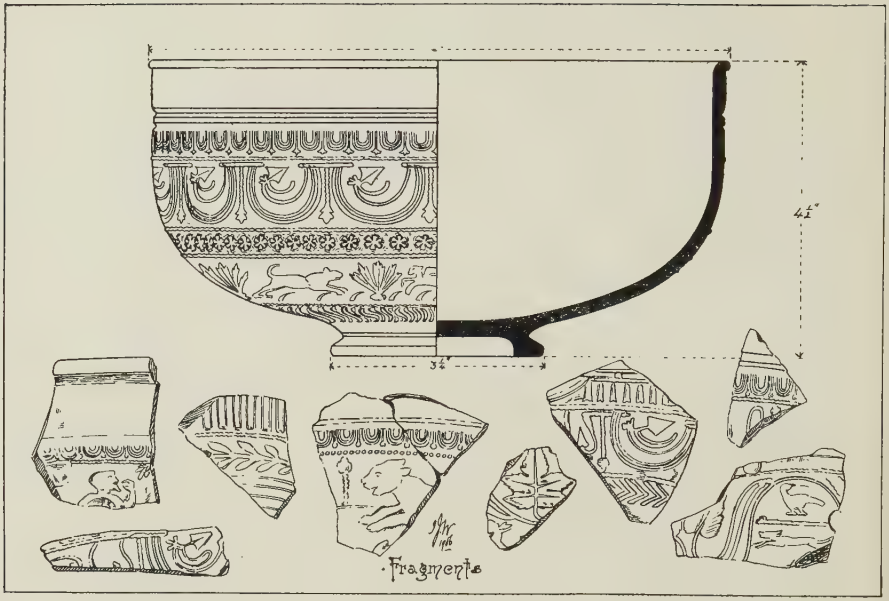
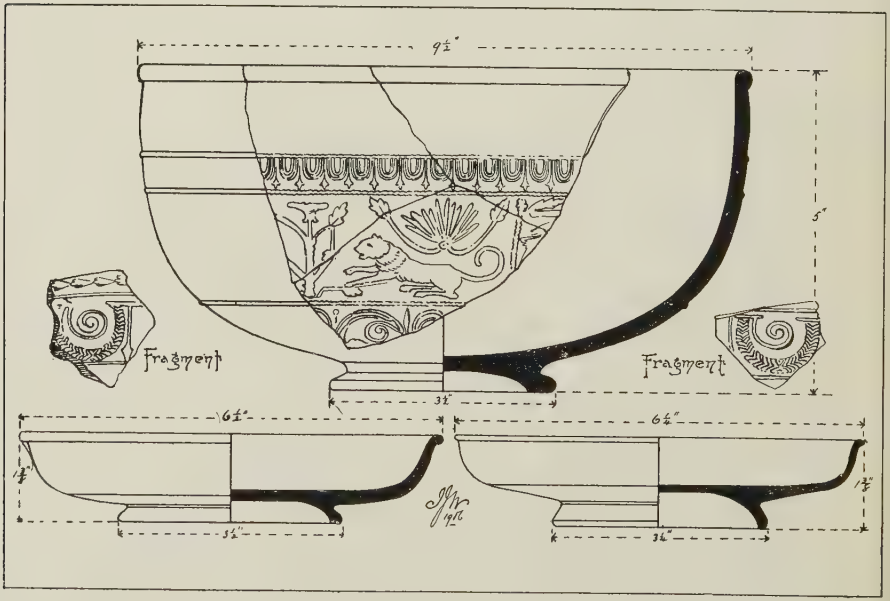


Fig. 35.



To face p. 95.

Fig. 36. SAMIAN WARE FOUND AT PENYDARREN.

it will not be rash to recognise here the vestiges of the regimental bath-house. Also outside the fort we have to mention some urn-burials found in a field north-east of Penydarren House, presumably the cemetery of the fort.

Smaller finds are numerous and interesting. Samian is abundant and various. Form 29 occurs in several examples; form 37 is represented by 70 or 80 fragments, and all, if one may judge by the ornament, are of an early type, suitable to the Flavian period (figs. 35, 36). A stamp outside one decorated bowl of form 37, MCRES†O (i.e. *manu Crestionis*), is known as belonging to this period).[72] The plain Samian includes much of Form 27 and some pieces with ivy leaf pattern, which were in use in the late first and early second centuries, and, as I am informed, some brown "marbled" Samian of a variety which belongs to the Flavian period. The commoner wares include bits with undulating ornament (p. 67), some green glazed fragments, and some brown ware painted with darker stripes in a rough wicker-pattern. These are all consonant with the first century, and indeed all the finds of pottery may well belong to that age.[73] Other small finds include part of a Gaulish statuette in white clay; some bluish-green and white glass fragments; a fibula with the wire thread passed over the bow (in technical phrase *obere Sehne*), probably of the first century; and three leaden weights weighing respectively, 726, 2257 and 4066 grains. The second is plainly three times the first: the third, scratched with the figure I, does not fit into the same scale. Only two coins are recorded—a Republican denarius of the second century B.C. and a coin of Vespasian.

[72] Ritterling *Kastell Wiesbaden*, p. 109.

[73] The British Museum authorities dated some of the pottery to "the later Empire", but this must be an error.

The evidence of the smaller objects just enumerated seems to prove two things. First, the Penydarren fort was planted in the Flavian period, and in the first half of it, that is, not later than about A.D. 85. Secondly, it probably was not maintained for very long: there is little or nothing among its recorded remains which need be dated later than the opening of the second century. Penydarren thus offers a contrast to Gellygaer, where the datable objects seem rather to belong to the early second century. The conclusion suggests itself that possibly Gellygaer was established when Penydarren was given up, and in place of it. Further enquiries,—for instance, a careful comparison of the Gellygaer and Penydarren potsherds,—and further excavations, will be needed before this hypothesis can be proved, and the result may be of course not proof but disproof. Our available evidence seems, however, to justify the conjecture.

Topographical arguments may perhaps be cited in its favour. Not only is the distance from Gellygaer to Penydarren barely nine miles, and therefore less than the distance between any two other Roman forts in Wales. The road system also suggests, though somewhat obscurely, that at some time or other one Roman road was substituted for another. It is fairly certain, as I have said, that a road ran north from Gellygaer over the Fochrhiw mountain. Its further course is not plain. If its final goal was the Usk valley, it would naturally have run straight on—for no physical obstacle hindered it—and would have passed just east of Dowlais. If its object was Penydarren, it must instead have turned sharply to the south-west, down a long hillside. Such a deviation is awkward in itself; and if the road were meant ultimately to reach the Usk valley, it is more than awkward.

On the other hand the natural line for a Roman road

from Cardiff to Penydarren passes west of Gellygaer. This line, which is fairly straight throughout, and is recognizable by existing roads and lanes, runs from Pen-yr-hoel, near Caerphilly, over the hills between the Rhymney and Senghenydd valleys, following a still-used track known in part as Heol-Fawr; then, keeping the same straight line, it coincides with the long street of Nelson, climbs Cefn Merthyr and comes by way of an existing lane to the Taff valley and to Merthyr. This may have been the first Roman road from Cardiff to the first Roman fort at Penydarren; later, when Gellygaer had been built in place of Penydarren, a new road may have been opened to and beyond Gellygaer. Unfortunately, we know nothing certain of the Roman roads which presumably led north from these forts across the hills to the Usk valley. Here, as elsewhere, the nomenclature of the Ordnance maps is misleading and unwarranted. But we can see that if an earlier road had run from Penydarren to the Usk, the later Gellygaer route might easily have joined it on the high ground north of Merthyr and Dowlais,—much as the main line of the Brecon and Merthyr railway runs from the south past Gellygaer and Fochrhiw and meets the Merthyr branch at Pontsticill, and the two continue together to Brecon. I am here, however, only pointing out possibilities which further enquirers may test on the ground with the spade—not in the study with ink and pen. The one fact before us at present is that the Gellygaer road and the Penydarren fort cannot easily be brought into satisfactory geographical relationship.

(xxi) Coelbren.

West of the Brecon Beacons the high range which sunders the Usk valley from Glamorgan is broken by three passes. Each of them is used for modern traffic: the

middle pass, which now takes a high road from Brecon to the Vale of Neath, served in Roman times for the route from the Gaer fort to the Roman "station" at Neath (xxiv below). The Roman road, which coincides only in part with its modern successor, is well-attested and certain, save at its two ends. Halfway along it, 12 miles from Neath and 13 or 14 from Brecon, a little south of the actual pass, stood a Roman fort, half a mile south-east of the present Coelbren railway station. Its remains have long been known: in 1904 they were excavated by Colonel W. Ll. Morgan and much useful evidence recovered.[74]

The fort is situated in a well chosen position, on the crest of a rounded hill, some 730 feet above sea level. The ground falls away from it on all sides with a descent of 30-40 feet; two small brooks and a bog somewhat strengthen it to the east, south, and north. In shape it is almost an exact square, with the usual rounded angles: in size, it seems to measure about 500 feet each way including ditches and ramparts—about 5½ acres, and about 430-440 feet within the ramparts—about 4½ acres. The ramparts were, in general, constructed of turves and brushwood laid on a rough foundation-course of wood or stones. At the corners, which were presumably more heavily fortified with turrets, and along the south side, where the foundations were treacherous, special support was provided by layers of boards or logs laid perpendicularly to the direction of the rampart. These timber foundations were especially elaborate at the south-east corner which had

[74] *Arch. Cambrensis*, 1907, pp. 135-174. I have seen the site only from a distance; I have examined the smaller objects found on it, which now are in the Swansea Museum, and the examination enables me to add something to what has been already published. The Roman road which passes the fort is described in detail by Col. Morgan, *Arch. Cambrensis*, 1907, pp. 130-135.

probably the worst natural base (fig. 37). The timber varied in width from 12-17 feet: the width of the stone foundation course was not determined, nor is it easy from our available details to calculate the original width of the overlying rampart.[75] Outside the rampart was a berm, also of uncertain width. Beyond that, lastly, were double ditches containing many wooden stakes which once per-

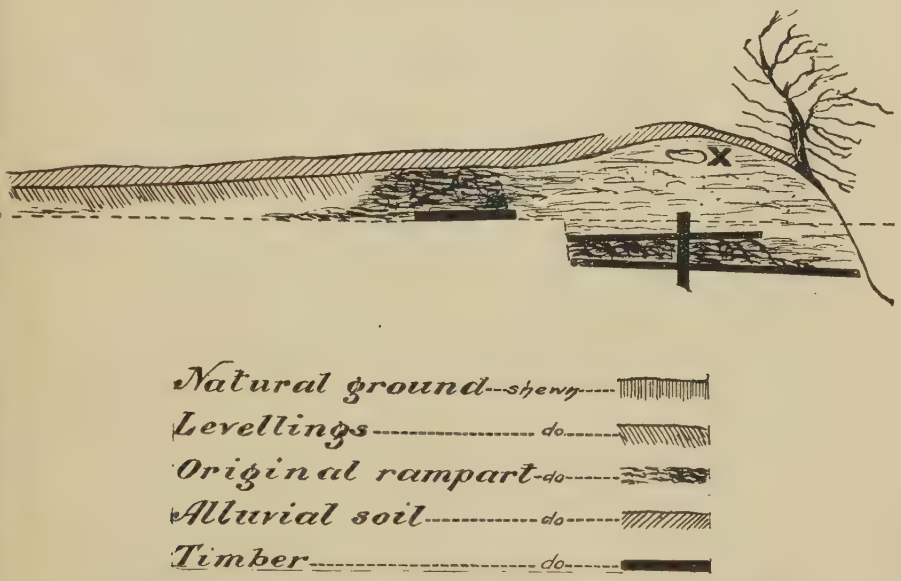


Fig. 37. COELBREN; Section of Rampart at South-East Corner.

haps added further strength to the defence. The distance from the counterscarp of the outer ditch to the inner edge of the rampart seems generally to be 65-70 feet. Four gates are thought to have pierced the ramparts, and three of them seem certain, but of none could the details be recovered and the north gate was not definitely proved to

[75] On the Wall of Pius and elsewhere the width of the turf wall at its base seems to have been that of the stone foundation.

exist. The interior of the fort contained some buildings of wood, with floors or roofs of tile, but the site has been disturbed by ploughing and otherwise since Roman times and nothing definite could be discovered. It seems clear, however, that Coelbren offered no resemblance to the masonry-covered interior of Gellygaer and that its occupation was comparatively short. A few suggestions of destruction by fire were also noted.

The smaller finds throw a little further light. They are not numerous and in this respect support the idea that Coelbren was held for only a little while. They give also a clue to the date. A few pieces of Samian, though much damaged by the action of the Coelbren subsoil, include recognizable instances of Form 29 and of an early type of 37. The coarser ware includes bits with undulating ornament such as we have found to occur at the Gaer and Gellygaer, and a bit of "pinched" or "rustic" ware such as at Newstead and Corbridge has occurred along with first century objects.[76] For glass we have bits of square bluish-green bottles and a fragment of a pillared bowl, such as was found at Gellygaer.

We seem, therefore, to have at Coelbren a first century fort, established perhaps in the days when earthen ramparts and wooden buildings were still employed and abandoned no long time afterwards. Whether it was planted for temporary purposes, to hold a mountain pass while a hill tribe was gradually reduced to submission, or whether it was intended as part of a permanent control, we cannot now guess. It may well have been meant for the second object and have actually fulfilled only the first.

[76] Morgan, *loc. cit.*, Figs. 16, 17. The British Museum authorities ascribed some of the Coelbren pottery to the third century, but this must be an error.

(xxii-xxv) The Coast of Glamorgan.

The Antonine Itinerary tells us that a Roman route ran from Isca Silurnum (Caerleon-on-Usk) 27 or 28 miles to Bomium, thence 15 miles to Nidum, thence 15 miles to Leucarum and finally from Leucarum 15 miles to Muridunum.[77] We can hardly doubt that the last three stations are the sites now called Neath, Loughor, and Carmarthen and that the route in question ran through the South Wales littoral. But the Itinerary is plainly incomplete. It gives 42 Roman miles as the distance from Caerleon to Neath. That is too little. It is approximately the distance in a bee-line. But the hills here make a bee-line impossible for a road; the natural route for traffic would skirt the south of the uplands, much as the Great Western Railway now runs, and this is a matter of 55 or 60 Roman miles. It is not unlikely, therefore that a station is omitted in the Itinerary. Unfortunately, our other evidence is hardly less incomplete. No quite certain traces of Roman roads survive on the ground in south Glamorgan and though milestones have been found near Neath, they are mostly of somewhat doubtful origin. One milestone, however, discovered near Pyle,[78] suggests that a Roman road ran near it, that is along the natural route above indicated. Roman remains indicating permanent occupation have, further, been discovered at Cardiff, and at

[77] Itin Ant. 483 484. Bomium is the right reading, not Bovium, which, I believe, is a conjecture of Camden's. Theories about Boverton or Cowbridge may be tossed aside. The equation of Bovium with Cowbridge was, indeed, a phonetic absurdity: one might as well have placed it at Oxford or at Cowley and Bullingdon, suburbs of Oxford. Let me add that, so far as I can discover, no Roman remains beyond a few coins have ever been found at Cowbridge and nothing at all at Boverton. See note 82, p. 107 below.

[78] *Corpus Inscr. Lat.*, vii, 1160, from Francis, *Charters of Neath* (1845) p. 16, and *Arch. Journ.*, iii, 274; Westwood *Lapid.*, p. 40. The stone is now in Swansea Museum, where I have examined it.

Loughor, and the distances between these places suggest that we should seek at Cardiff the missing "station" of the Itinerary. We might then emend its text so that the stages would run (i) Caerleon to Cardiff, (ii) Cardiff to near Pyle, 27 or 28 Roman miles, (iii) Pyle to Neath, 15 Roman miles, and so forth.

This, it will be observed, suits well the physical character of the region concerned. If we apply to the South Wales coast the principles which we have found to hold good for the sites of Roman forts in north and central Wales, we shall look for such forts at or near the mouths of the Usk, the Taff and Rhymney, the Neath river, the Loughor river and the Towy. These are just the points which are indicated by the combined evidence of the Itinerary and of actual remains. Only, as the distance from the Taff to the Neath River is longer than any possible travelling stage, a "station"—perhaps a mere post-house—was inserted between them, though no definite valley corresponded to it.

(xxii) Cardiff.

The first of these posts is Cardiff Castle. It stands on the east bank of the Taff in a little coastal plain through which the Taff, the Ely, and the Rhymney reach the sea. Roman remains were first noted here in the eighteenth century, when one writer records the discovery of a coin of Trajan and other Roman coins, and another writer the discovery of a hypocaust, both in the Castle.[78] In 1862 the late Mr. G. T. Clark—rightly known as "Castle Clark"—suggested that the Castle covered the

[78] Harris, *Archaeol.*, ii, 10; *Public Advertiser*, 9 Oct. 1777. As the latter publication is now rare, I may cite the essential passage. It occurs in a letter by "Siluris" on the antiquities of Cardiff Castle: "toward the *South-West* Angle of the Castle, nearly in a part which formerly used to be appropriated to the laying up Hay, something very like a Roman *Hypocaustum* was discovered . . . . I was but a

site of a Roman fort. In 1888-1890 and again in 1898 and following years excavations confirmed Mr. Clark's view, while our understanding of the whole remains was much extended by the careful and patient observations of Mr. John Ward.[79] It became apparent that men of the middle ages, presumably the early Norman conquerors of this region, marked the strategic importance of the place, piled over the wrecked enceinte of the Roman fort a huge rampart of earth to form a bailey and cast up in its north-west corner a tall mound for motte and keep. So far, at least, the history of Cardiff resembles that of Tomen-y-mur (p. 38). But its site was far more important. A greater future awaited it than could ever have befallen the bleak and lonely outpost on the slope of the Migneint hills.

The Roman fort at Cardiff stood on flat ground beside the Taff. In shape it was almost square (fig. 38); within the walls it measured about 585 by 620 feet or, if we allow an earthen ramp of 20 feet at base, 545 by 580 feet, that is, about 8 or (with the ramp subtracted) 7½ acres. Round it stood a strong wall of rubble faced on both sides with well-coursed masonry, 10 feet thick at the bottom. This wall was found in places 16 feet high and was traced along nearly all the east side, most of the north side and a small part of the other sides. Behind it signs were noted of

Child when the Discovery was made, but I well remember its being then very entire; that it was built of brick and that there was a Number of Holes in it, on every Side, to admit the Heat . . . . The inside of the Furnace . . was just big enough to admit of a Man." I think we may accept this evidence.

[79] Clark, *Arch. Cambrensis*, 1862 p. 253, and 1890, p. 283; Ward *Archaeol.*, lvii, 335, *Arch. Camb.*, 1908, pp. 29, 227. The notices in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xlix, 220, 308, and *Ibid*, new series, vii, 27 are unimportant. For some small objects found in the excavations see *Arch. Camb.*, 1890, p. 291, a brief list.

an earthen ramp, 20 feet broad at the base—which however has been insufficiently recorded. It was further strengthened by bastions (plan, A-I) projecting from its

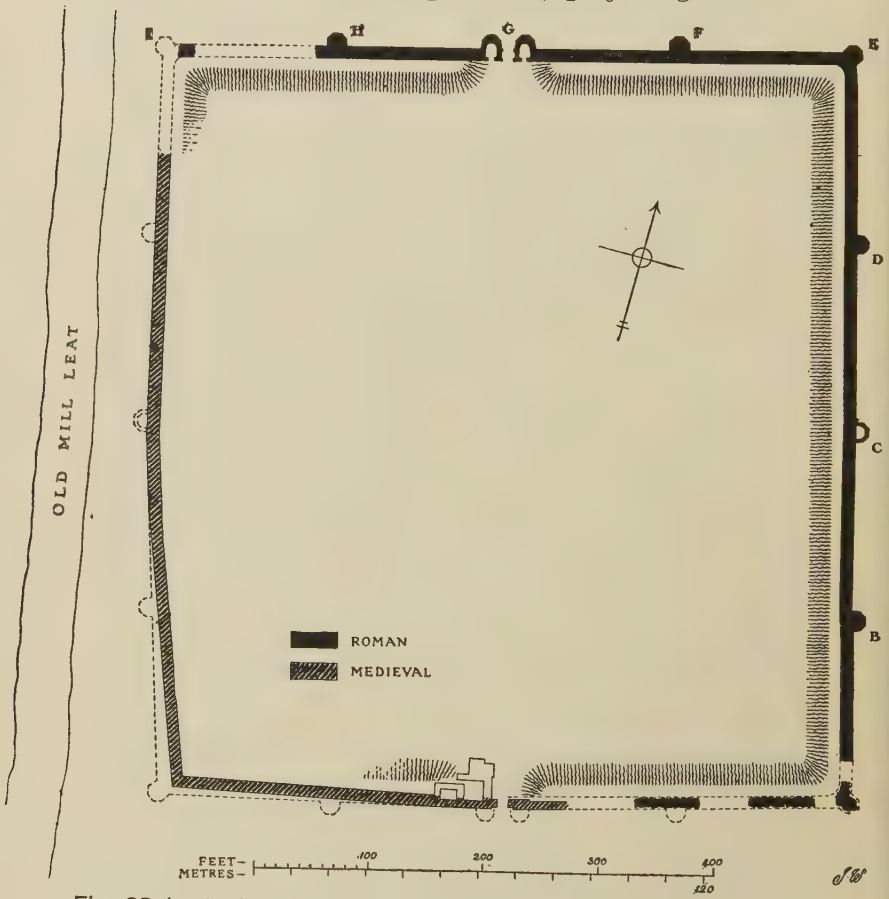


Fig. 38 (p. 103). CARDIFF, ROMAN WALLS (*from plan by Ward*).

face at intervals of 120-145 feet, and apparently contemporaneous with it. A ditch presumably encircled the whole, but the medieval fosse and some modern waterways have obliterated it. In the middle of the north face (plan, G) was a gate flanked with bastions (fig. 39) and

To face p. 104.

Fig. 39. CARDIFF, NORTH GATE SEEN FROM OUTSIDE.
(Above, to the left, the medieval mound and Lord Bute's new masonry.)

To face p. 105.

Fig. 40. CARDIFF, NORTH-EAST BASTION (Plan 38 E) AND PART OF THE WALL WEST OF IT.
(Shewing plinth running in below and behind bastion.)

a similar gate probably gave access on the south where the modern entrance now is; there was no east gate and some supposed traces of an eastern postern (plan, C) are not at all conclusive; of a west gate nothing is known. The masonry of the walls and bastions seems to be of one date, but to overlie older work. The plinth of the wall, in particular, is continued behind the bastion and independently of the bastions-plinths (fig. 40). Moreover, Mr. Ward observed that this plinth had a weather-worn look and that patches of earth intervened between it and the bastion core, as if it had been exposed for some time before the bastions were built over it. The north gate also was found to have been constructed over an original wall, which seemed to be connected with the plinth, while the gate-way shewed traces of three road-surfaces and two sets of pivot-holes.

Of buildings inside or outside the fort and of smaller finds little is known. Within the fort, as I have said, a hypocaust was found in the south-west corner a long time before 1777, and coins and potsherds have come to light at various times, but all that is specifically recorded is a coin of Trajan, found long ago, and 12 coins ranging from Faustina to Julian (that is, to A.D. 363) found in the excavation of the walls; 6 of the 12—coins of Victorinus, Tetricus, Carausius, Constantine the Great and Julian—occurred near the north gate at the Roman level. In 1892 a Samian saucer stamped OFPRIM (late first or early second century), some other potsherds, and a "second brass" of Trajan were dug up south of the fort under Lloyd's Bank in High Street and may indicate a civil settlement.[80]

This material is plainly inadequate to tell the story of the fort. But some conclusions can be drawn. We know

[80] Storrie, *Western Mail*, 20 Oct. 1892 and *Arch. Cambr.*, 1893, p. 278. I have seen none of the smaller objects found at Cardiff.

that Roman engineers rarely used projecting bastions in forts till towards A.D. 300. We may therefore infer that the ruined wall and gate of Cardiff fort are at least no older than that date, but are coeval with some or other of the later coins noted above. We may also compare them with the Roman milestones found along the south Welsh coast—and by milestones I mean true milestones and not the Christian tombstones which some writers quote as milestones. Of these we have six legible examples and of the six, three date from a little before or after A.D. 300—two from Diocletian and one from Maximin. One is tempted to think that then, just after the fall of Carausius and Allectus and the restoration of Britain to the Empire, steps were taken to defend the coast against intruding Irish like the Déssi. In any case we can be sure that about A.D. 300 the coast road from Cardiff to Carmarthen was in full use and sites along it inhabited by civilized men.

If the fort, as we know it, was perhaps Diocletianic, what shall be said of the plinth and other marks of earlier building? Obviously they date from an age when bastions were not yet used freely, and the conclusion to be drawn our total evidence is perhaps this:—a Roman fort was planted at Cardiff in the first or early second century; it was then given up, like many other forts which we have already discussed in this article, and its defences fell into ruin; later still, in the latest third or the fourth century, it was reoccupied and its walls rebuilt from the plinth upwards. Its first walls may well have been wholly or mainly of earth, so that little of them beyond the foundations and the ditch would have been worth utilizing for a fourth century structure.[81]

[81] It has been suggested that there was no earlier fort and that the absence of Cardiff from the Itinerary can be explained by the fact

(xxiii-xxv) The Coast of Glamorgan (*contd.*). Bomium, Nidum and Leucarum.

As we leave Cardiff, we turn our backs on our last unquestionable instance of a Roman fort in Wales. The remainder of our journey will take us to sites of which none is demonstrably a Roman fort and not all are demonstrably Roman. But, as I discussed Varis on the north coast, I shall here too include some doubtful items.

The first three sites will not detain us long. Of Bomium, as I have said, we know neither the position nor the character. If I incline to place it near Pyle, I merely take what seems to me the best of several alternatives, which are all badly supported by facts.[82] Nidum is in little better case. Its name, indeed, shews that it was where Neath now is, and we can see that Neath, at the head of a considerable estuary, at the crossing of a considerable river, and at the meeting point of Roman roads from Caerleon, Carmarthen, and the Gaer, is a suitable and indeed inevitable spot for a "station" and even for a Roman fort. But actual proof of station or fort is still lacking. Two or three Roman coins and a Roman cameo have been dug up near the church and a gold coin of Carausius (Webb, No. 4) near the Abbey. But the asser-

that it was yet unborn when the road-book was compiled. This is, of course, possible. But we have somehow to account for the plinth, etc., and the smaller finds, so far as they are imperfectly known to me, seem to indicate an earlier age than the fourth century. And we have also to explain somehow the deficient mileage of the Itinerary noticed above (p. 101).

[82] We have few signs of permanent Roman life in south Glamorgan to guide us in finding Bomium. The remains at Ely racecourse and at Llantwit, seem to belong to "villas" like Llanfrynach (note 60). The remains near Newton Nottage—coins, nails, *opus signinum*, painted wall-plaster, found at Danygraig about 1850, *Arch. Camb.*, 1853, p. 97—attest inhabitation of some sort, but rather a dwelling-house than a fort. See also note 77 above.

tion that the churchyard, which is (or was) rectangular in area, represents a Roman fort is, I fear, conjecture.[83]

Loughor, in Welsh called Llychwr, has more to urge on its behalf. It stands on a little knoll overlooking a point where the Loughor river is both fordable at low tide and also narrow enough to be easily bridged; its site is both defensible in itself and also commands alike the river-crossing and the approach to a considerable valley—as the Normans doubtless saw when they reared a castle here. Nor are Roman remains quite wanting. A Roman altar, sometimes miscalled a milestone, was found more than a hundred years ago and is still preserved here. Coins, including one of Trajan, are recorded, and pottery, querns and the like, from Loughor are in Swansea Museum. About 1855 a hoard of "third brass" of A.D. 250-263 was unearthed here. When the Great Western Railway was made here in 1852, a bath or hypocaust was found, as Col. W. Ll. Morgan tells me, in the line marked out for the permanent way at Loughor station.[84] This evidence is enough to prove definite Roman occupation. It is also consistent with a Roman fort—there can be no question here of a Roman "villa". Such a fort would have been planted on

[83] Bayley and Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales*, xviii, 553; Lewis, *Topogr. Dict.* Coin of Carausius in Dr. Arthur Evans' collections.

[84] Carlisle, *Topogr. Dict.* (1811) s.v. Loughor; *Gent. Mag.*, 1831 (i) p. 162, describing a visit paid in 1811; Lewis, *Topogr. Dict.*; *Arch. Cambr.*, 1869, pp. 258, 344; Westwood, *Lapid.*, p. 39; the Ordnance map notes Roman coins found in 1828. For the hoard see *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xii, 158, 239; it does not seem to have been completely examined, and a bronze Syracusan coin of about B.C. 480, which is alleged to have belonged to it, must be due to an error. An account of the bath is said to have been written by Col. G. G. Francis, but I have not seen it. The Great Western Railway seems to have no record of any find except an urn.

much the same ground as its successor, the medieval castle, and may well have been erased by it. But the line of the Roman road which led to it seems to be preserved in the modern highway for some miles east of Loughor.

(xxvi-xxix) Carmarthen and the South-West.

(xxvi) Carmarthen (?)

It is often said that the south-west corner of Wales—southern Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire—contains very few attested traces of the Roman period. The remark is open to some qualification. Roman remains in general are not so much rarer here than, for instance on the west coast in the counties of Cardigan or of Merioneth. But it is the peculiarity of the south-west that it has hitherto yielded no sure evidence of Roman military occupation. Our map shows a line of forts running south from Caerhyn past Tomen-y-mur and Pennal to Llanio. But at Llanio the line turns inland and eastwards to Llandovery and the Usk valley. Our map shows also a line of forts, certain or possible, running along the south coast. But it contains no certain instance of a fort west of Cardiff and no example that it is even probable beyond Loughor. The archæologist who crosses Loughor bridge seems to pass outside the military region, though he remains within the limits of Roman rule and Roman civilisation. Four sites in the south-west have however been at one time or another adduced as military. It is necessary to point out here that none of them has at present a demonstrable right to this character.[84]

[84] I omit four other sites in Pembrokeshire which, on our present knowledge, have no sort of claim to be called Roman—Castell Meherin in the parish of Lampeter Velfre, Ordnance Survey 6-inch xxix SE, seemingly an early non-Roman earthwork; Nant-y-castell or Castell Crychydd, Ordn. Survey xii NE, Fenton *Pembrokeshire*, p. 487, which may be medieval St. Lawrence, Ordn. Survey xvi NE, which may be

First as to Carmarthen. The Itinerary tells us that a Roman road ran to Carmarthen, and parts of its line between Loughor and Carmarthen have been identified with more or less probability. At Carmarthen itself, Roman remains have frequently been found, especially near the north-east end of the modern town. They declare that the place was inhabited in some fashion from the first or second to the fourth century. It can even boast of a fourth-century inscription, the end perhaps of a dedication, rather than of a milestone, mentioning some fourth-century Emperor with the common fourth-century phrase *bon]o reipublicae nato* :—

O
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which has for at least a hundred years enjoyed a safe if ignoble shelter in a stable, waiting, may be, till Carmarthen establish a no less safe museum.[85] But these remains point to a tiny country town, possibly the capital of the Demetae, if capital be not too grand a word. If ever a fort was set to guard the estuary of the Towy, no recognizable trace of it has been yet recorded.

(xxvii) Cwmbrwyn (?)

Cwmbrwyn, in the parish of Laugharne, some ten miles south-west of Carmarthen, is the only site in this region

pre-Roman and is certainly not a "Roman villa"; and the remains of walls under the sand in Whitesand Bay, about which nothing really is known. No Roman remains appear to have ever been found in or near St. David's or Whitesand Bay. I may add that the Roman roads which the Ordnance Survey allots freely to Pembrokeshire are all of them fictions.

[85] Copied by myself. Carlisle, *Topogr. Dict.* (1811); Brayley and Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales*, xviii, 354. Hence Watkin *Arch. Journ.*, xxxi, 344; Westwood *Lapid.*, p. 98; *Ephemeris Epigr.*, iii, no. 139.

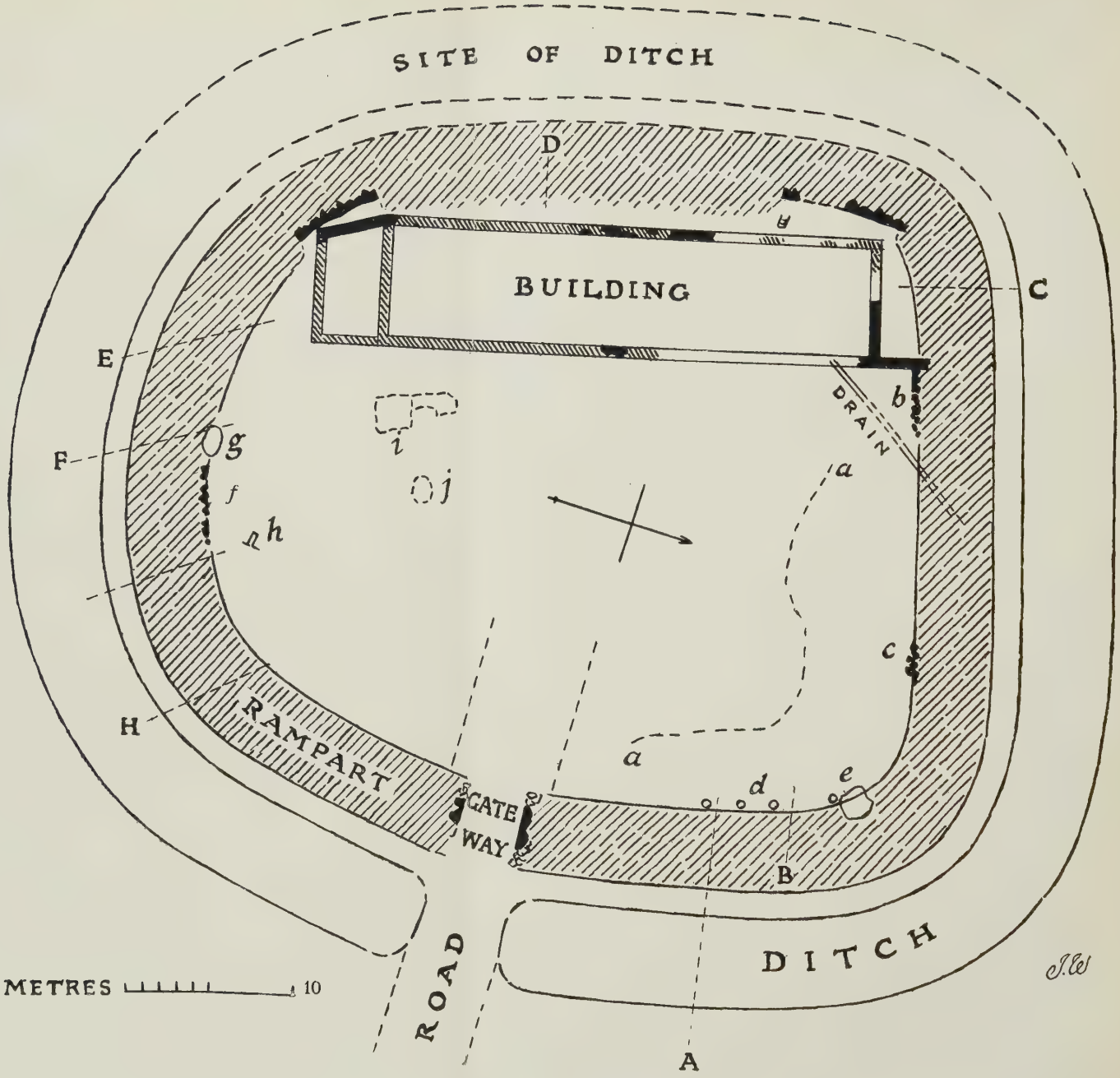

Fig. 41. CWMBRWYN. (Scale 30 feet to 1 in.)
(A-H, Trenches cut through rampart.)

To face p. 111.

which has been carefully excavated. It is an earthwork which might be called indifferently round or squarish in outline (fig. 41). It measures from outside to outside, including ditch, 185 by 210 feet and within the defences 115 by 140 feet. It was defended by an earthen rampart 14 ft. broad at base, with a narrow berm and a broad ditch outside it and on the inside traces of a stone revetment (*b*, *c*, *e*, *f*, on plan). One gate, 12 ft. wide, gave entry. Within, there was one long building (25 by 108 feet in area) roofed with stone slates and furnished with glazed windows, box-tile flues for heating, a drain to carry off water, and perhaps a bath. Besides this definite structure, the excavators noted some postholes suggesting a shed (*d* on plan), some traces as of a furnace (*h*) and of a smithy (*i*), and other vaguer marks of disturbance (*a*, *g*, *j*). Smaller finds were few: a very little Samian, some ruder potsherds, a coin of Carausius and the like.[86] The object of the whole can only be guessed. Mr. Ward inclined to "a post for a detachment of cavalry intended to thwart a hostile landing from the estuary of the river Taf". Small military blockhouses of somewhat similar size certainly occur occasionally in the Roman world, as at Kemel, near Langenschwalbach, on the German Limes. But they are mostly of early date and they stand in relation to some definite system of defence such as we cannot at present trace in this part of Wales. Cwmbrwyn itself is not well placed for the guard of the Taf estuary. It is perhaps as

[86] Laws, *Arch. Cambr.*, 1890, p. 334, Ward, *ibid.* 1907, pp. 175-209. The excavation was carried out by Mr. Ward in the summer of 1906; I have seen some of the finds, preserved at Carmarthen. The earthwork seems not unlike the curious little "camp" at Bossens in West Cornwall, which has yielded Roman remains of (probably) the third or fourth century and may therefore be coeval with Cwmbrwyn. Bossens does not look military but its exact nature is undetermined and a comparison with it does not help us here.

likely to be a fortified and stockaded farm as a military work. In any case its date appears to be about or after A.D. 300.

(xxviii) Castle Flemish (?)

Castle Flemish, in the parish of Ambleston in Pembrokeshire, lies 25 miles west of Carmarthen. It is on high ground about halfway down the long irregular slope which extends from the top of Prescelly Downs to Milford Haven. The actual site is a flat and bleak hill-top, with ground rising slightly to the north, and a wide prospect in all other directions. Here, cut in two by a modern road, is a rectangular enclosure girt with a faint rampart and ditch; the area, including the rampart, is not quite 90 by 95 yards, that is, less than two acres. It was known to Richard Fenton, the historian of Pembrokeshire, who, about 100 years ago dug up bricks here and heard of stucco floors, drain-tiles, etc., and mentions "Roman brick and cement" as visible on the surface. To-day nothing of the sort is visible. The place owes its fame ultimately to Bertram. He in his forged "Itinerary" placed a station "ad Vigesimum" between Leucarum and Menapia by which latter he apparently meant St. David's or Whitesand Bay.[87] Fenton, who believed in Bertram's compilation, noticed the earthwork and noticed too that it lay about 20 miles from St. David's; here, he concluded was Ad Vigesimum. Others followed him, and the name figures in Ordnance maps and similar publications till this day. It is, of course, fictitious, the mere invention of Bertram, and, as Prof. Mayor has pointed out, it is not even a probable Romano-British name. But the place is

[87] *Britann. Gentium Historiae antiquae scriptores tres, Ricardus Corinensis* . . . rec . Carolus Bertramus (Hauniae 1757—the original edition) p. 39; Stukeley (*Account of Richard of Cirencester*, 1757), identified it with Narberth.

not necessarily negligible because it has got a bad name. Only excavation, however, can tell us its real nature and age. It is far too small to be called, as Thompson Watkin called it, "a fair-sized station"; indeed, it is considerably less in area than any Roman fort in Wales. Nor is there any cause to think that the modern road which runs through it is Roman, or ever bore the name "Via Julia": that name seems to be merely a misreading of a medieval versifier, and is as unauthentic as "ad Vigesimum" itself.[88] Whether Castle Flemish is itself a really old name, I do not know.

(xxix) Ford (?)

Four miles west of Castle Flemish and half a mile west of the hamlet of Ford is a small squarish earthwork, surrounded with a bank and ditch, measuring about forty paces each way, planted in a sheltered spot on a steep slope which descends to the Western Cleddau stream. It has often been called a Roman camp. But no traces of antiquity are visible in it, nor any sign of human occupation, nor could a military work be reasonably placed on such a slope. Nothing appears to have been found in it. But a little to the east Fenton records the discovery in 1806 of bricks "proved by their peculiar ornament to be Roman", an oblong stone-lined pit with flues worked in Roman brick, slates with iron pegs, and red-painted stucco —all to the east of the earthwork and to-day untraceable. It is plain that we have here no Roman military work. Whether we have here a dwelling of Romanized Britons is harder to determine. Fenton, with all his merits, was

[88] Fenton's *Pembrokeshire* (London, 1811), i, 333: hence E. Laws' *Little England beyond Wales* (London, 1888), p. 39. I have visited this and the following site, and in doing so have received much help and kindness from Mr. Henry Owen, D.C.L., of Poyston.

no specialist in Roman archæology, and here, as at Castle Flemish, only fresh excavations can reveal the age and character of the occupation.[89]

V.

ΗΚΩ *δολιχῆς τέρμα κελεύθου.* I have taken my audience a long journey round 29 sites of real or supposed Roman forts in Wales. We have found, in the first place, that at least 17 are real. Caerhyn and Carnarvon in the north; Tomen-y-mur, Pennal, Llanio and Llandovery in the middle west; Caergai, Caersws, Caerflos, Castell Collen in Central Wales; the Gaer, Abergavenny, Usk, in the Usk valley; Gellygaer, Penydarren, Coelbren, on the Glamorgan hills; Cardiff on the south coast, can all with reasonable certainty, be called Roman forts. We are now justified in saying that a system of Roman forts significantly placed some 15 to 25 miles apart, covered the main valleys, the main habitable or strategic points in Wales.

We have found, secondly, that these forts all belong to that class of military post or *castellum*, varying in area from 3 or 4 to 6 or 7 acres, which the Romans employed to control disturbed districts or frontiers and which they generally garrisoned with cohorts or *alae* of "auxiliary" troops; and we know the names of two or three of these regiments. We have found, further, that some of these forts were established in, if not before, the earlier Flavian period, A.D. 70-85, and that, in all probability, the whole group (with the possible exception of Cardiff) was in existence by the opening of the second century. Lastly, we have found that, while some of these forts were still

[89] Fenton, *Pembrokeshire*, i, 331; Laws (*Little England*, p. 39) saw the site of the pit in 1886 but no remains on it.

occupied by troops in the third century and Cardiff seems to have been built or rebuilt still later, others were evacuated in the second century and their garrisons withdrawn to the more dangerous and unquiet north of Britain.

We can see also, though I have not specifically pointed it out in the preceding sketch, that this system of forts depended on the two great legionary fortresses—which I do not purpose to describe here—the fortress of Legio II Augusta at Caerleon (Isca Silurum) and the fortress of Legia XX Valeria Victrix at Chester (Deva).[90] These fortresses supplied builders and building material for the construction of the forts; they could also supply substantial military aid in troublous moments. This was the usual Roman system of controlling difficult provincial lands. The relation of Chester and Caerleon to the 17 or more Welsh forts is just the same as—for example—that of Mainz, Strasburg and Windisch, legionary centres in Upper (southern) Germany to the forts of the German Limes, or of Lambessa, fortress of Legio III Augusta in Roman Africa, to the forts along the Sahara frontier.

Yet once more, we notice that our 17 forts all shew the same general size and character. We might perhaps have expected an end-station, such as Carnarvon, to have been especially large and to have been garrisoned by two or three auxiliary cohorts. Similar end-stations in other provinces had sometimes larger garrisons, at least in the first century, with which we are principally concerned.[91]

[90] Wroxeter, if and so long as it was the fortress of the Fourteenth Legion, may have served the same end: see p. 9.

[91] A. v. Domaszewski *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, xxi, 186. Newstead on the Tweed, lately excavated by Mr. James Curle, is perhaps an example of an end-station with a double auxiliary garrison. The thing is, however, hardly common enough to be called a regular Roman military arrangement of any date.

But the reason for their absence in Wales is plain. Elsewhere these stronger end-stations overlooked the enemies' territory. But the Welsh forts were not directed in the first instance to the defence of an unquiet frontier or the exclusion of piratical Irish. Their chief aim was the pacification of Wales. It may well be that later, in the early third century, the retention of the Carnarvon garrison (p. 32) was in part dictated by fear of the Irish. But the original system reveals no such fear. Tacitus, as you may remember, in his biography of Agricola, treats Ireland with the curious optimism which, throughout history, has marked so many non-Irishmen in their dealings with the island. It was, he says, no danger to Britain; indeed, in the view of Agricola, it might have been easily conquered.[92] That fearlessness characterizes the distribution of garrisons in Wales in the age of Agricola and Tacitus.

Such are the results of our perambulation of Wales. Let us compare them briefly with those attained just a century ago by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, as he has outlined them in the preface to his edition of Giraldus Cambrensis.[93] It is a remarkable preface. It is marred, no doubt, by a faith in "Richard of Cirencester" which, however pardonable in 1806, is now known to be totally misplaced. But it is grounded on enquiries carried out in person through many parts of Wales, and it is written with real ability and comprehension of many of the problems at issue. Sir Richard recognised as Roman all

[92] Tac. *Agr.* 25. It is, I fear vain to speculate where the forts were which, as Tacitus says, Agricola planted in "the part of Britain which looks to Ireland". Galloway, which German writers suggest, seems to me out of the question; West Cumberland, and Lancashire, and, as the preceding article has shewn, Wales are all possible.

[93] *Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwyn by Geraldus de Barri*, translated, etc., by Sir R. Colt Hoare (London, 1806), pp. cxxxix-clxx.

but three of our 17 sites: he was ignorant only of the forts on the Glamorgan hills. That is no small merit. But we must go on to note that he admitted to his map, and even to his text, many dubious sites, such as Bodfari, Holyhead, Castle Flemish, St. David's, and that he understood little of the character of any of his sites. Some he styles Roman stations and others British towns, and he shows only an intermittent appreciation of their military character. Still less was he able, with the evidence at his disposal, to enquire into the dates at which various forts were established or evacuated. The hundred years which have passed since he wrote have not passed in vain.

We in our turn have only to look carefully at our own conclusions to detect many deficiencies and omissions, which we may hope that the next hundred or even the next twenty years may make good. First, our list of forts is not yet quite complete. Even if we assume that the extreme west—Anglesea and West Carnarvonshire in the north and Pembrokeshire in the south—were not held by troops, our map shows empty spaces which we must either fill or explain. Two such we have already noted, the gap in the vale of Clwyd where Varis has yet to be fixed, and the greater gap in the south-west where we meet Roman sites as far west as the further end of Carmarthenshire but no quite certain fort beyond Cardiff. Doubtless there are other sites, now less obvious, which when detected and excavated, will yield proofs of permanent military occupation.[94]

[94] Colt Hoare and others would add a missing fort in the valley of the Tanat, and another in a geographically analogous position near Hay on the Wye, where the counties of Brecon, Radnor and Hereford meet. No actual remains (save a few coins found near Hay) are recorded in support of either theory; no appropriate roads can be traced near either site, and it may be doubted whether either lies sufficiently among the hills to need a garrison. The point is, however, worth further enquiry.

The archæologist who cares to find a new fort and perhaps, like researchers in other branches of science, to name it after himself, has still a field open to him in Wales.

Not only is our list incomplete. Our history is little better. We have given in the preceding discussion only imperfect answers to the questions when the forts were planted and when abandoned. We can trace several forts back to the early Flavian period (A.D. 70-85). But Tacitus tells us that Ostorius built forts in Wales somewhere about A.D. 50-52, and one of his successors, Suetonius Paulinus, was active there in A.D. 60. We may perhaps write off Paulinus as cut short in his schemes by Boudicca, but we have still to trace the handiwork of Ostorius. Whether it be by learning how to date early Samian more precisely or by other chronological enquiries, we must somehow distinguish the forts which are earlier than A.D. 70 from the work of the Flavians. We have to face, too, the problem of Gellygaer. Be the true history of that fort that which I have suggested above (pp. 89, 96) or something else, the two inscriptions attest beyond dispute that important work was done there under Trajan. Was this work confined to the one fort or were other measures of fort-building or rebuilding then undertaken in other parts of Wales? Again, to what cause shall we assign this work, which is almost the sole trace of activity which survives from the Roman Britain of the Trajanic period? And finally, how shall we solve the problem of the abandonment of the forts. Some, as we have found, were evacuated in the second century. At once the queries arise. When in the century did this occur? Can it be connected, as I have suggested, with Hadrian or with Pius? How many forts did it affect? On what principles were some forts given up and others not? Much of Welsh history

from A.D. 120 to 400 lies in the answers to these questions. I have been able to give only the rudiments of replies.

Thirdly, our knowledge of the Welsh garrisons is incomplete. We find auxiliaries at Carnarvon, Caergai, Llanio, the Gaer. We find tiles of the Twentieth Legion in the north near Chester, at Hope and Caerhyn, and tiles of the Second Legion in the south near Caerleon, at the Gaer and Abergavenny and Usk. I have interpreted these tiles as coming from neighbouring legionary brickyards. On the Romano-German frontier, as is well-known, the Mainz legionaries baked bricks in their yards at Nied and sent them out thence to the auxiliary forts on the frontier.[95] The same must have happened in Wales. Indeed, some brickworks of the Twentieth Legion have been lately found, I think, by Mr. Arthur Acton at Holt on the Dee, eight miles south of Chester. But the question has often been put, whether the legions did not sometimes also send detachments to garrison these forts. On the whole, I believe that this question must be answered in the negative. Whatever may have been permissible as makeshift provision for chance needs, the two legions at Isca and Deva did not number nearly enough men to garrison at the same time their own fortresses and even a considerable fraction of the 17 *castella* which normally required at least 500 men apiece. Nor do we seem to meet in other provinces of the Empire any definite practice or system of manning auxiliary forts—that is, forts of the size in question — with bodies of legionaries detached from legionary headquarters. Legionaries might aid in the construction of the forts. Legionary centurions might be seconded to command their garrisons, when built. Legionaries, both officers and men, were sent out, in large

[95] G. Wolff, *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte*, dritte Folge, iii, 212-346, and *Die Römerstadt Nida* (Frankfurt, 1908).

or small numbers, for all manner of special services. But a regular manning of the smaller forts of a province by drafts from the central legion has yet to be proved.[96]

Fourthly and lastly, we have to complete our understanding of the fort-system by tracing the roads which connected them. We know very little of these roads. In the paper which I am now concluding, I have ventured only to point out a few certainties and a few possibilities, and I have tried to make it clear that even the certainties have not yet been worked out in detail. Thus, we know from the Itinerary and various milestones that a road ran from the legionary fortress at Chester by Caerhyn to an end-station at Carnarvon. But, save for a piece on the mountain west of Caerhyn, its actual course is still untraced. We know, too, from surface indications that a road connected Caerhyn with Llanio in Cardiganshire and possibly with Carmarthen. But a long section of it is mere matter for speculation. Again, we know from the Itinerary and from milestones that a road ran from Carmarthen along the south coast of Wales to the legionary fortress of Isca Silurum at the mouth of the Usk. But not a yard of it can be laid down for certain on the map. We can trace a road from Llanio by Llandovery to the Gaer near Brecon, and, as it seems, down the Usk valley

[96] Patsch says that the legion stationed at Durostorum on the lower Danube (now Silistria in eastern Bulgaria) sent drafts to hold the smaller forts around (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclop.*, v, p. 1863), but I do not know his authority. The oft-quoted detachment of 80-90 legionaries at Kutlovica in western Bulgaria can hardly have garrisoned the "auxiliary" fort which seems to have stood there outside the *municipium*, and may have fulfilled some other errand (*Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, iii, 7449, 7450, 12346). Cagnat in his *Armée romaine d'Afrique* (pp. 568, 580, 582, etc.), mentions some possible cases in Roman Africa, but I do not think that they are certain or represent anything like a permanent system.

to Caerleon. Here too a long void intervenes in the middle between Brecon and Abergavenny, and the section from Abergavenny to Caerleon, though attested by the Itinerary, has not yet been discovered on the ground. We know something, lastly, of roads near Caersws and of roads across the Glamorgan hills. But in both districts our knowledge is broken into detached fragments. In other parts of Wales we have no knowledge at all. If we are asked how the Romans reached Caergai or Castell Collen, we must simply confess that we cannot even guess.

Our maps, it is true, shew roads galore, laid down with minute precision. If we are to credit them, not only was Roman Wales better provided with roads than much of modern Wales with railways, but our knowledge of these roads is as perfect as the road system itself. That is what always happens in such cases. Where Roman sites are few, the antiquary steps forward with a first-class and elaborate scheme of roads. Yet, after all, roads were built to be used by travellers and not merely to be detected by antiquaries. It is no use talking of roads if there are no inhabited spots to which they can lead. When the Ordnance maps mark more Roman roads in Pembrokeshire than in any other Welsh county or perhaps in any other three counties taken together—I cannot profess to have totted them up minutely—they convict the Ordnance authorities of a curious ignorance of practical life, an ignorance which is generally thought to be more characteristic of the scholar than of the soldier.

The truth is that we must begin our enquiry into the Roman roads of Wales almost anew. With Colt Hoare, we must go out on to the moorlands to seek them. But we must do more than he did; with pick and turf-cutter we must uncover their road-metal, a bit here and a bit there, for miles together; from charters, chronicles, and

ancient place-names we must try to get subsidiary proofs of highways more ancient than the age of medieval castles and abbeys. In Wales we shall probably, for various reasons, find the moorland more instructive and the charters and place-names far less helpful than the corresponding evidence in England. Indeed, we may perhaps win from Roman road-metal buried beneath the mountain heather some criterion of the real value of the Welsh place-names which seem to suggest ancient roads. Those names are abundant and they generally look simple and lucid. But, like so many of the place-names of thinly-inhabited and pastoral countries, they perhaps tell fewer historical secrets than the more disguised and puzzling names of older England.

On every side the same need faces us. We must dig. Careful excavations, systematically planned, patiently and scientifically supervised, recorded and illustrated—such as Prof. Bosanquet and his Research Committee are beginning—will solve most of the problems in those four centuries of Welsh history which form the Roman period. Our successors, if not indeed we ourselves grown twenty years older, will then look back on these efforts of mine in 1909 and 1910 as the ineffective struggles of an ill-equipped adventurer.

* * *

Postscript.

I have to end with a correction. In the prefatory note at the beginning of this article (p. 1), I said that it was printed much as it was originally written for the Cymmrodorion Society, save for certain more or less obvious

additions. That is true of much of the article. But it is proper to state that during the revision of the manuscript for publication and even—by the courtesy of the Editor—during the passage of the article through the press, I have been led to make more extensive additions than my prefatory phrase might seem to imply. As the sheet containing the prefatory note had been printed off before these additions had grown so large, I was unable to alter my phrase and think it best to make the correction here, lest any reader should be puzzled or misled.

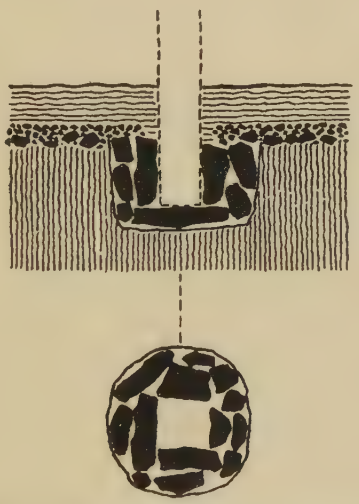

Fig. 42. GELLYGAER, SECTION AND PLAN OF POST-HOLES IN BARRACK-VERANDAH (p. 84).

APPENDIX: ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF DECORATED SAMIAN WARE.

In the foregoing paper I have sometimes cited Roman potsherds and in particular Samian ware as aids to dating the Roman forts in Wales. I now add a brief note on the chronology of this ware, or rather of its decorated types, which are both its most important and—at present—its most accurately datable elements.

I must premise that the subject is by no means easy, and that for two reasons. In the first place, the chronological study of Roman pottery is a new thing. It was founded, so to say, by two monographs issued in 1895 by Hans Dragendorff and Konstantin Koenen. Since then, much has been written on it, and written well, both by Germans—Ritterling, Loeschke, Knorr, Barthel and others—and by the French archæologist Joseph Déchelette. But their work is spread over many books and periodicals; much of it is necessarily tentative and some is necessarily of little value. No one has yet ventured, nor have our studies advanced far enough to justify anyone in venturing, an account of Samian which shall both cover the whole field and cover it in a definitive manner. In Britain, in particular, little has been done. This is partly our own fault; partly also it is due to the deficiencies of our Roman remains. Our island can provide the student neither with Samian kilns where the ware can be studied at the fountainhead, nor with an abundance of sites which were occupied or abandoned by the Romans at times ensuring datable material.

And secondly, the enquiry has its own inherent difficulties. The classification of decorated Samian involves us both in a mass of petty-seeming detail and also in a series of artistic or semi-artistic guesses as to the styles and fashions of special potters and periods. Our task is much like that of sorting and dating a collection of postage-stamps on merely internal evidence. Just as we should there have to learn to distinguish an English green halfpenny newspaper stamp with imprinted date from the same without date, or an Austrian 2 kreuzer with large

perforations from the same with small perforations, and to decide whether these differences in detail mean also differences in date or atelier, so the student of Samian must distinguish—to give one example—Diana with the large stag from the same goddess with a small animal, and fix the relative ages of the two kindred designs. And just as the philatelist would have to classify his stamps by the different artistic—or inartistic—ideals which he might see in them and thereby to sort out (let us say) the issues earlier than about 1865 from those of the ensuing decades and those again from the efforts of to-day, so we have to group our Samian into factories and identify what we can of individual potters and styles. It is risky work. The discrimination of Janus, Cibisus, Reginus, Toccius, may not involve the tragic issues of a doubt between Lucas and Lionardo. But the difficulties of decision are much the same.

Decorated Samian may be classed by its form and by its ornament. Three forms of vase here chiefly concern us. All are round bowls, mostly averaging 7-8 inches in diameter from rim to rim and 3-4 inches in height and holding a little over a quart of liquid measure, though some examples naturally vary from these dimensions in one direction or another. They are decorated with raised ornament all over the outside, except the rim: internal ornament is very rare.

(a) The earliest and most elegant form is that usually denoted by the number 29[97] and also, though not more happily, called "carinated" (fig. 43, 1, 2). This bowl has thin and finely glazed sides and is somewhat fragile. It is distinguishable at first glance by a characteristic rim with a kind of engine-turned surface and a characteristic bend in the middle of its side which divides its ornamented surface into two bands or "friezes". Each of these bands has its own strip of decoration. The commonest items of ornament are:—

(i) Panels of arrowheads (compare fig. 43, 4).

(ii) Panels of a cruciform or "diagonal" device rather like a fantastic St. Andrew's cross (compare figs. 43, 4, and 44). This is hardly so common as the others.

(iii) Small circles or medallions with birds, etc., inside.

[97] This and other numbers to be used in the text were assigned by Dr. Dragendorff in 1895 and have passed into current use.

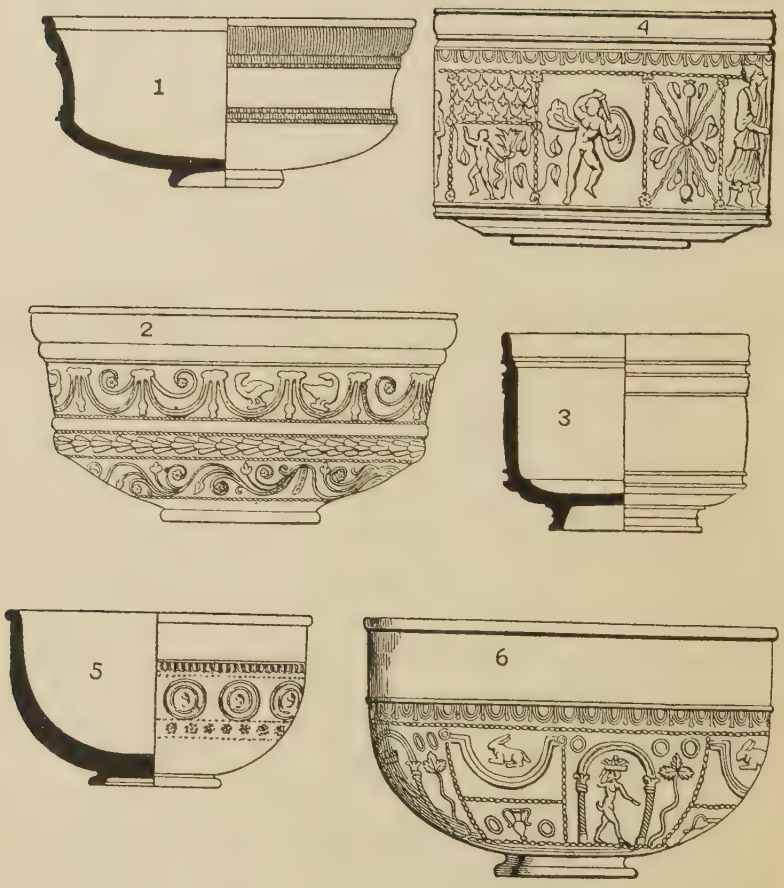

Fig. 43. SAMIAN BOWLS. (1) Form 29, shewing contour, with ornament omitted. (2) Form 29 with Great Ovolo in upper frieze and Scroll in lower. (3) Form 30, contour only. (4) Form 30, example with arrow-heads, cruciform device, human figures, to right Diana. (5) Form 37, medallions. (6) Form 37, class 3.

(iv) Animals running up to or away from a fanlike plant or shrub.

(v) A semicircular device, apparently developed out of the common "Egg and Tongue" (ovolo) pattern, which might be called the Great Ovolo of which an example appears in the upper "frieze" of fig. 43, 2.

(vi) Continuous scrolls or festoons of undulating foliation (as in fig. 43, 2, lower frieze), often with arrowheads, birds or the like interspersed. Human figures, e.g., a kneeling archer or Cupid, also occur, but are rare. In this point—though in this alone—the general style of these bowls resembles the Late Celtic Art and gives no prominence to Man. The disposition of the ornament is of two kinds. The scrolls and Great Ovolo naturally run in unbroken series right round the bowl (fig. 43, 2); the other devices as naturally form mixed series, sometimes alternating almost like the metopes on an architectural frieze. Whether this difference in method means also a difference in date is uncertain; in any case the two methods not seldom appear together, one on one frieze and one on the other frieze of the same bowl.

Form 29 came into use about A.D. 30, that is, before the Roman conquest of Britain, and lasted till after A.D. 85. Its end has indeed been usually dated rather earlier. But it occurs on several north British sites which cannot have been reached by the Romans before Agricola and which seem connected with his campaigns (A.D. 80-85), Carlisle, Corbridge, Cappuck, Newstead, Camelon, Inchtuthill. For historical purposes, then, we can use form 29 as helping to assign a site to a date previous to A.D. 85. Unfortunately we cannot go on to apportion the various classes of 29 bowls to different parts of the preceding half-century. We need more evidence, if we are to decide (e.g.) whether any particular bowls are earlier or later than the date which matters so much in the early history of Roman Wales, A.D. 70.

(b) Our second form, 37, is in shape hemispherical; it has a plain rim and a band of small ovolo below that; its sides are often thick to clumsiness and its glaze is often inferior. It first appeared about A.D. 65–70,[98] soon

[98] It occurs at Pompeii, as visitors to the Naples Museum have long known. Compare Roux *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vii, 110 and especially Déchelette, i, 95.

became common, was the dominant form during the second century, and probably disappeared early in the third century. It is the strongest, easiest cleaned, most diversely useful, and probably the cheapest of all the forms of decorated Samian; only too naturally did it drive out the more fragile and elegant 29 and secure for itself a life of over a century and a half. Throughout, its shape remained the same except that on some apparently later pieces the plain rim is very tall. But the decoration falls into various classes which can be distinguished and even to some extent dated.

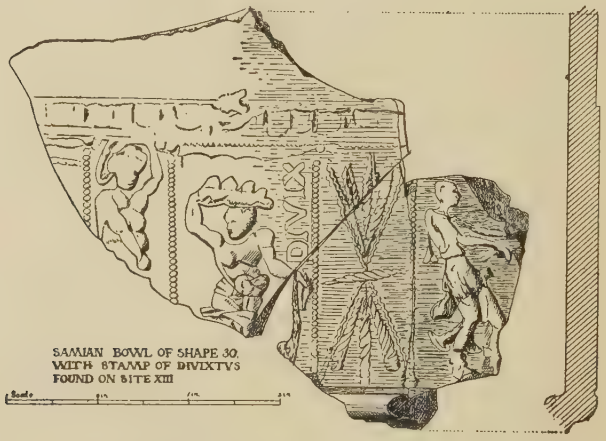

Fig. 44. SAMIAN BOWL, by Divixtus, found at Corbridge (From *Archæologia Aeliana*). *See p. 182.*

(1) In the first and chronologically the earliest class, the ornament is plainly borrowed from that of 29. Despite the different contours of the two bowls, No. 37 at first retained the "double frieze" characteristic of 29, and it repeated the cruciform pattern (now very common), the arrowheads, Great Ovolo, plant and animals, foliated scrolls, etc.—as may be seen on the Penydarren pieces figured above (figs. 35, 36). This style of decoration plainly began while form 29 was still in use, and it seems to have lasted long after the disappearance of the latter. Unfortunately, it is not yet possible to determine when the various devices went out of use. The "double frieze",

which has no proper place on a hemispherical bowl, might have been expected to vanish quickly. Yet it occurs on two or three pieces from Hadrian's Wall, which was built about A.D. 120 (Chesters Museum, 2843, 3445), and on one of the pieces the lower frieze is a degradation of the Great Ovolo which implies some lapse of time since the real meaning of this pattern was forgotten. Several other devices borrowed from 29 also appear to have lasted on in coarsened or conventionalized modifications of later date. In particular, the cruciform pattern, which was probably very popular in the late first century, occurs now and again on bowls which it is hard to date earlier than A.D. 130-140—bowls, for example, stamped by Advocisus and Divixtus.[99]

(2) In the second class human figures predominate. Rare as they are on bowls of form 29, these figures had probably been winning their way into the Gaulish potters' repertory for forms 30 and 37 ever since the middle of the first century; by its end they had become very popular. Often they provide the whole decoration of a bowl. They are sometimes arranged in a free series running round the bowl; much more often they are framed either (1) in rectangular panels divided by vertical beading or by conventional partitions such as caryatides or (2) in large circles (or medallions) and semi-circles or occasionally in arches or arcading. The panels are probably the earlier in date. The circles and semi-circles belong rather to the middle of the second century; the semi-circle, indeed, is probably a descendant of the Great Ovolo with its true meaning quite forgotten. The tendency is for each little compartment to take one or, at most, two figures. Such bowls give us few continuous scenes, but rather a row of wholly unrelated subjects. We seem to detect in the artists of these pieces a willingness to mass together inappropriate items—a willingness which betrays itself in other branches of

[99] Divixtus was a Lezoux potter who produced bowls of types 30 and 37 with the stamp DIVIX or DIVIXF, decorated with human figures (*e.g.*, Diana, gladiators), Caryatides and a variety of the cruciform pattern which rather recalls crossed heads of corn. Déchelette assigns him to A.D. 75-110, but the associations under which his pieces have been found in North Britain suggest that Mr. Curle is right in dating at least some of his work to A.D. 140-150. He is distinct, probably, from a Divixtus who may have worked in Germany. Fig. 44 shows a bit of his work, from Corbridge.

decorative art in the Roman Empire and which is visible enough in our own day.

(3) Another class reveals a different ideal. Here we find continuous festoons, which recall those of no. 29 but are larger and more florid and are often interspersed with somewhat inappropriate details.

(4) Or we find continuous scenes, gladiators or hunters amid a confused mass of moving animals. It will be observed that classes 2, 3, and 4, embody the two fashions of broken and continuous ornament which we noted in form 29. But here, as there, it is hard to tell if the two manners mean two periods or two contemporaneous ideals. In any case, the three classes seem to belong to the second century, and since no. 2 seems to have developed directly out of no. 1, its beginnings at least must belong to the earliest part of that century.

(c) A third form, 30, is a straight-sided, cylindrical bowl, somewhat like a modern jampot with a foot (fig. 43, 3 and 4). It is often of greater height and smaller diameter than either 29 or 37. It came into use later than 29 and earlier than 37, perhaps about A.D. 50[100] and lasted fully a hundred years. In no part of its long life was it at all freely used and we cannot say whether it served the same table purposes as 29 and 37 successively served. In its details it resembles 37, having the same rim and ovolo border and it developed on much the same lines. Its earlier pieces have sides as thin as any piece of 29 and use ornament common to the repertory of 29, save that the double frieze does not seem to recur here. Its later pieces are much thicker, and their decoration corresponds to the later varieties of 37. The examples of it which are figured above (figs. 24 and 43, 4) probably belong to the first century. Fig. 44, on the other hand, may be as late as A.D. 140.

Other types of decorated Samian may be noticed more briefly. A small cup, sometimes numbered 78, which both in shape and ornament is roughly a diminutive 30, seems, as Dr. Knorr has pointed out, to belong to the Flavian age; a piece of it has been found at Caersws. Two plainer types can also be dated approximately. The saucers with raised ivy-leaf pattern on their rims went out of use

[100] Ritterling *Frührömisches Lager bei Hofheim* (*Nassauer Annalen*, xxxiv, 1904), plate vii, lower half.

apparently about A.D. 150. The not very common "incised" ware, in which the ornament is not in relief but sunk, dates from the late second and early third centuries. An uncommon but interesting class, usually represented by globular jars, bear figured decoration attached by the barbotine process: this may be of the early third century (p. 67).

In the preceding paragraphs I have purposely omitted all reference to the places in Gaul and Germany where Samian was manufactured—La Graufesenque in the Aveyron, Lezoux in the Allier valley, Heiligenberg in Alsace, Rheinzabern in the Bayrische Pfalz, Trier on the Mosel, and other such centres. In Wales, so far as I can judge from scanty material, we are concerned only with the two first-named places, and the distinction between their wares cannot be explained in general phrases, like the distinctions between the forms and ornaments noticed above. By the aid of Déchelette's great work, *Les vases ornés de la Gaule Romaine* (Paris 1904), the enquirer can verify individual designs as belonging to one or the other of these factories. But they have to be taken one by one, like the stamps in a philatelist's catalogue. That process cannot be safely tried till the distinctions of the details described above are understood. When it is attempted, it will enable us speedily to mark off some pieces of 37, classes 1 and 2, as made at La Graufesenque, or elsewhere in southern Gaul, and therefore of the first century. Later, when the chronology of 37, classes 2-4, is better known, we shall add to our list of datable pieces, but as the Welsh examples of these are almost wholly Lezoux fabrics, the distinction between the factories ceases to matter.

A word may, however, be added as to the names of datable potters. Decorated Samian marked with the names of Aquitanus, Germanus, Masclus, Medillus (p. 66), Mommo, Vitalis (p. 66), seems to belong to La Graufesenque and the first century. Butrio, and Libertus were Lezoux potters of the late first or early second century. Advocisus, Banuus, Cinnamus, Doeccus, Paternus—this last in monogram—worked in the middle or later part of the second century. At present, however, we have made more progress in assigning potters to places than to periods.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

For twelve of the illustrations (no. 7-9 and 33-41) my readers are indebted to the authorities of the Cambrian Association, who lent blocks from the stores of *Archæologia Cambrensis*, for three to the Cardiff Naturalists, who lent the blocks of nos. 28, 30, and 42, and for four to the authorities of the Victoria History who presented the blocks of four illustrations (nos. 1-3 and 27) used in my contributions to that History (*History of Derbyshire*, i, pp. 196-7). The rest of the illustrations have been prepared for this article, the plans of sites being adapted from the Ordnance Survey and the others based on the sources indicated below.

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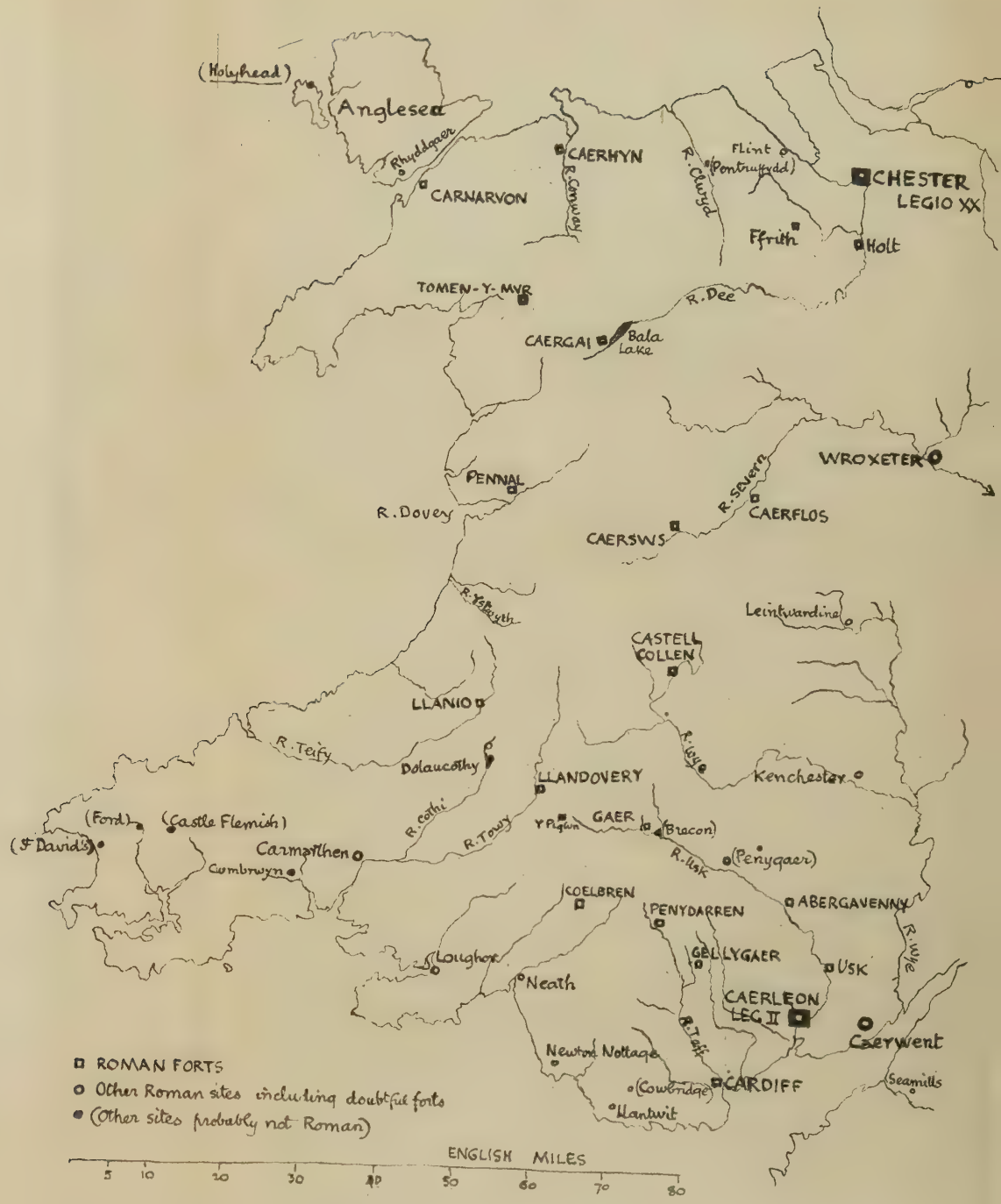

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ADDENDA (Sept. 1910).

P. 61, line 1. For *probably* read *probably not.*

P. 64-65. Since these pages were printed off, the west gate of the Gaer has been partly cleared. It appears to be an ordinary double gateway, a trifle over 20 feet wide, with a substantial guard chamber on each side of it; the general plan is probably much like that of the gateways at Gellygaer (fig. 27, p. 80-81), but the masonry is more ambitious and massive. The south gate is a small, single gate, some 10 feet wide: this is natural, since it opens on to a steep descent to the Usk and no important road can well have issued out on this side. The hypocaust flues in the old farmhouse garden (p. 65, lines 7-10) are, I now think, inside the north wall of the fort and are doubtless connected with the apse noted in the preceding sentence. To the smaller remains should be added an amphora handle bearing the familiar "Iunius Melissus" stamp (only . . ELISSI is visible), now at the Gaer farmhouse.

P. 85. Excavations during the summer of 1910 have revealed more buildings in the annexe and shewn that it was defended by a substantial wall probably of clay faced with stone.

P. 114. I should perhaps have done better if I had omitted Usk from my list of certain forts and included Ffrith. Usk was certainly a Roman military post: whether it was a fort of the type now in question, is less certain. Ffrith, on the other hand, or at any rate, some point near it, is declared by the inscribed tiles cited in the text (p. 24) to be in all probability the site of a Roman fort, even though the remains at Ffrith itself may not be military.

P. 126. Title to Fig. 43, 6, for *class 3* read *class 2.*